

Gallick REPORTS:

OR, AN
Historical COLLECTION
 OF
CRIMINAL CASES,

ADJUDGED
 In the Supreme Courts of Judicature in
FRANCE. A WORK equally Instructive
 and Entertaining.

In which is Comprized,
 An Account of *Arnold du Tilb*, an Impostor, who
 deceived a Man's Wife and Relations, and puzzled,
 for a long Time, the Parliament of *FRANCE*.
 The History of a young Lady, whose Eloquence
 saved the Life of her Lover. A Narration of the
 stealing away a Lady of Quality's Son, by her Hus-
 band's Relations, in order to secure the Estate.
 Memoirs of the famous *Madam de Brinvilliers*, who
 poisoned her Father, and two Brothers, and at-
 tempted the Life of her Sister, &c. The Misfor-
 tunes of the *Sieur d'Anglade*, condemned (tho' In-
 nocent) to the Gallies, and who died before his In-
 nocence was discovered. The Intrigues of Cardi-
 nal *Richieu*, for the Destruction of *Urban Grandier*,
 a Priest, whom he caused to be burnt for Sorcery.
 The Case of *Madam Tiquet*, beheaded in the late
 Reign, for attempting the Life of her Husband.

To which is prefixed a copious *PREFACE*, in Re-
 lation to the Laws and Constitution of *France*.

L O N D O N :

Printed by J. APPLEBEE, in *Bolt Court, Fleet-Street* ;
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Church, Fleet-Street ; WARD and CHANDLER,
 without *Temple-Bar*, and E. WITHERS, against
Chancery-Lane, Fleet-Street. MDCCXXXVII.





T O

John Turner, Esq;
Of Lynn Regis, in the
County of Norfolk.



AMONG the best Uses
of DEDICATIONS, we
may certainly Reckon
this, that they, in some
Measure, preserve to Posterity
the Names of Worthy Men :
It ought therefore to be the
Care of every Author to inscribe
his Works to None, whose Cha-

iv *DEDICATION.*

rafter does not Honour to his Book, and justify, in the Opinion of the World, the Address he makes.

A just Scnse of this, Sir, determined me to the Liberty I have taken ; a Liberty, which as your Virtue required, I hope your Modesty will not forbid you to Pardon.

IT is sort of Duty to the Age, in which we live, to preserve, as far as we may, the Names of those who adorn it, and where a Merit, so conspicuous as yours, leaves a Man without any Apprehensions of being thought a Flatterer,

DEDICATION. v

Flatterer, it is a Satisfaction which he ought not to deny himself of paying you this publick Praise.

IN those Scenes of public Life, where Integrity and good Sense shine with the brightest Lustre, in the high Rank of a Senator, in the honourable Seat of a Magistrate, you have merited and received a great and just Applause.

THESE are Offices which every *English* Gentleman would wish to fill, because they are such as give him a Power of serving his Country, of supporting the Constitution, and of leaving an amiable Example to Posterity.

vi DEDICATION.

THE Times, in which you have lived, afforded extraordinary Circumstances of Honour in both Capacities, and gave you an Opportunity of displaying all the Virtue of a Patriot, and all the shining Qualifications of an accomplished, and good-natur'd Gentleman.

IF the Splendor of a publick Character, like the Rays of the Sun, strike the Minds of Men with greater Awe and Reverence, the Virtues of a private Life, like Moon-Light, afford us the fairest, and the sweetest Prospects.

THE

E D I C A T I O N. vii

THE former are Scenes, of which many know not how to judge, with the latter all Men are in some Measure acquainted. To your excellent Conduct in these ordinary Occurrences, is in a great Measure due, that universal Approbation, which attends the Mention of Mr. TURNER.

YOUR Affection as a Husband, your Tendernefs as a Parent, your Kindnefs as a Master, your Beneficence as a Man of Fortune, your Franknefs as a Gentleman, renders you equally beloved in your own Family, and esteemed by all the World.

IT

viii DEDICATION.

IT would be an Insult on you, and the greatest Mark of Folly in myself, to say all this, if it were not publickly known already ; but when I am satisfied that what I say is Truth, and that it will be acknowledged for such by every One, who reads this, and knows you, I cannot but indulge the highest Pleasure in professing myself in this Manner.

*With the utmost Sincerity and
Respect,*

S I R,

Your most Humble and

Obedient Servant.



THE PREFACE.



F all the various Kinds of useful Knowledge, which the Mind of Man is framed to comprize, there is none more laudable in itself, or more beneficial in its Nature, than the considering the Laws of other Countries, and comparing them with our own. The Law in every Country is the Civil Prudence of that Country, and according as it is well or ill contrived, a Nation is esteemed wise, or otherwise.

IT is a common, and I believe a very just Notion that no Country in Europe has better Laws than Ours ; but in order to say this like a Man, and not like a Parrot, it is necessary that we should know, at least in general Terms, what the Laws of other Countries are.

FRENCH Literature has of late Years gain'd a high Esteem in Britain ; we read and we admire their Historians, their Poets, and their Critics ; I thought therefore I should do something agreeable to the Publick, if I brought their judicial Proceedings to the View of an English Reader ; for I can see no Cause why we should be fond of stepping into a French Theatre, and not be equally well pleased to see their Courts of Justice.

IF Racine and Moliere have obtained high Reputations, by representing justly the Passions of Mankind, the Judges of France have with equal Right acquired to themselves an extraordinary

nary Fame throughout Europe for the Clearness of their Heads, and the Soundness of their Hearts.

IT is but a little while ago that the Parliament of Paris gave Instances of as sublime a Spirit of Virtue, as ever adorned the Senate of Rome; and if we cast our Eyes back into the Gloom of Antiquity, we shall find that the Justice of this Assembly was of old so conspicuous, that Foreign Princes resorted hither, as among the Greeks to the Areopagus, in order to have their Differences decided. A noble Testimony of the Superiority of Wisdom over Power.

THE following Sheets contain criminal Cases of an extraordinary Nature, and are as well fitted to instruct, and to entertain, as our State Trials, or any other Collections of that Kind. The Heart of Man is the same in all Countries, and if we consider Histories of this sort in a Moral Light, in order to discover the Connection between Causes and Effects, in the Conduct of such

unhappy

[b 2]

unhappy People, as mistaking Wickedness for Wisdom, seek Happiness in a Road where it is never to be found, expect Grapes from Thorns, and Figs from Thistles.

I say if we consider these Cases in this Light, which is of all others the most profitable, we cannot fail of reaping at once, Pleasure and Improvement, from the Prospect, not of human Misery, but of the Justice of the Laws of France, and the Wisdom of Providence in adapting Punishments suitable to all Offences, and in bringing Offenders, in spite of all their Artifices, to feel the Punishments which wilfully, and with their Eyes open, they pull down upon themselves, though they vainly imagine they may elude the Blow, and by joining Cunning to Vice, procure that Safety which is only annexed to Virtue.

BUT then, in order to these Reflections, it will be necessary to have a previous Idea of what may be called the Crown Law of France, and this

I shall endeavour to give within the Compass of this Preface, by considering as succinctly as I may, the two following Heads, under which, I presume whatever relates to the subsequent Trials will be comprehended.

I. THE Nature of Crimes, and their Punishments, according to the French Law.

II. THE Judicatories before which they are cognizable, and the Methods of their Proceedings.

A Crime is an Act committed against the Laws, it may be committed, say the French Lawyers, four ways, Re, Verbis, Literis, & Consensu, by Acting, Speaking, Writing, or Consenting. Crimes are variously divided, but that Division which suits our Purpose best is into Capital, i. e. Crimes incurring Death; and not Capital, i. e. such as induce lighter Punishments, with the former of these we have chiefly to do in the following Pages. To proceed as

methodically as we may, let us begin with Homicide.

HOMICIDE in general signifies an *Act*, whereby the *Life* of a *Man* is taken away. This may be done four ways, voluntarily, imprudently, necessarily, and accidentally; to begin with the last, and from thence to ascend to the first. An accidental Homicide is where a *Man* kills another without either *Design* or *Fault*, that is, neither through *Intention* nor *Folly*, in this Case it is evident there is no *Crime*, and therefore by the *Law* of *France* it is unpunished. Necessary Homicide is where one *Man* kills another in *Defence* of his own *Life*, that of his *Wife*, *Children*, *Father*, *Mother*, &c. or in *Defence* of his *Goods*, when he is attacked by a *Thief*, this also is not *Criminal*, and therefore he who kills a *Man* in this way, has no need even of *Letters* of *Remission*. Imprudent Homicide is where one *Man* kills another without apparent *Design*, but through an *Act* of *Indiscretion*, such as throwing a *Stone* out of a *Window*, or firing
a

a Gun in the Street, this being in some Degree criminal, is punished in France not capitally, but according to the Discretion of the Judges, after considering the Circumstances with which such a Homicide is attended. Wilful Homicide is where one Person kills another wilfully, &c. with Intention so to do. And this is either licit, where the Law allows it, or illicit, where the Law forbids it.

AS to the first, a Father is allowed to kill his Daughter, if he surprizes her in the Act of Adultery, a Husband may in the same Case kill his Wife, and an Officer may kill his Soldier, sleeping on his Post, committing an Act of Treason, or refusing to obey him on any important Occasion.

Illicit voluntary Homicide may be committed with Arms, or by Poison, in either Case it may be performed by ones own Hand, or by that of another. Voluntary Homicide committed in the Heat of Passion, is sometimes remissible, where the Person killed appears
to

to have been flagrantly the Aggressor. But where a Man with Malice Pre-pense kills another, by the Edict of Henry II. dated in July, 1554, it is declared, that such a Person shall suffer Death upon the Wheel, and that this Punishment shall not be commuted, and by the same Edict, not only Assassination is rendred Capital, but the very Intention to assassinate, tho' never carried into Execution, an Instance of this the Reader will meet with in the last Case in this Book, viz. That of Madam Tiquet.

*THE Duel is held by the French Laws more Criminal than Assassination itself, because this is a voluntary Sacrifice, which the Duelists make of their Estates, their Honours, their Lives, and their Souls, to Vanity or Revenge. Anciently indeed these in the Nature of Appeals to God were permitted by Kings; but Henry IVth, of glorious Memory, in the Year 1609, forbid them in all Cases by an Edict; his Son Lewis XIIIth, publish'd no less than six in his Reign, to prevent
this*

this pernicious Practice; Lewis the XIVth, of happy Memory, by his Edict of 1643, appointed all Disputes of Honour to be terminated before the Marechals of France, and strictly forbid Challenges, or Receiving Challenges, this Edict was supported by another in September, 1651, still more severe, and these Remedies proving ineffectual, a third Edict was published in the Year 1679, severer still, by the 27th Article of this Edict, such as are contumacious, are declared incapable of all Successions, such Lands as should belong to them, vesting in the Lord of the Manor, to be possessed by him in the Name of the King, their Profits, however, being apply'd to charitable Uses, from the Day of the Sentence, without hope of Restitution, and by the 34th Article of the same Edict, Leave is given to the Relations of a Person killed in a Duel, to make themselves Parties within three Months to the Prosecution against him who killed their Relation, and on Conviction, the Estates of the Person condemned are immediately vested in such Prosecutors, without

without any farther Course of Law, the nearest Relation of the Party deceased being in this Case preferred.

BT the 35th Article of that Edict, Prosecutions thereon are not to be extinguished by the Death of Parties, Prescription, or any other Means whatsoever.

THERE is yet a Sort of Homicide not reducible to any of the foregoing Cases, it is this, where a Woman, by base Practices, procures Abortion, and thereby destroys the Fruit of her Womb before it appears to the World.

THE Romans distinguished in this Case between such as caused their Children to perish for the Sake of Money, and such as did it to revenge themselves on the Fathers of such Children; the first they punished with Death, the latter with Banishment only. The Law of Moses made another Distinction, viz. whether the Child had quickened before the Abortion, in which Case they

they looked on it as a Capital Offence, otherwise not.

THE Christian Religion, purer than that of the Jews, teaches us to regard it as a Murder, whether the Child be quick or no, for this plain Reason, that a living Soul is either way prevented from coming into the World.

*KING Henry II. by his Ediſt, in the Year 1556, puniſhed the Concealment of being with Child, or being delivered, with Death, leaving, however, the Manner thereof to the Direction of the Judges; and to the End that no Body might plead Ignorance of this Ediſt, King Henry III. by another Ediſt, in the Year 1486, commanded all Reſtors of Pariſhes to read it openly in their Congregations after Maſs, once every three Months; Surgeons were alſo forbidden by the ſame Ediſt to bleed young Women without the Knowledge of their Fathers, Mothers, or other Relations; as alſo Women, whoſe Husbands have been long
absent,*

absent, without the express Direction of a Physician.

PARICIDE is a Murder of the most atrocious Sort, it consists in murdering, or procuring the Murder of Father, or Mother, Grandfather, or Grandmother, by Violence, Poison, or any other Way, this is the strict Definition of Paricide; but the Law also comprehends such as take away the Lives of their Brothers, Sisters, Uncles, Aunts, &c. as also such as Counsel, Aid, or Abet Paricides, the Punishment attending this Crime is Death, according to the Discretion of the Judges; but it is usual to break such Wretches on the Wheel.

THE Prince being the Father of his People, murdering him is the highest kind of Paricide, as Paricide is the highest kind of Murder; but because this Crime affects the State, as well as the Prince; several Rules are admitted in France for the Punishment of this Crime, which do not take Place in Respect to any other. 1. The Intention

tion is here sufficient, though no Effects at all should follow. 2. Not only Accomplices, as well as Authors, but even the Concealers of such Plots are held Guilty of Leze Majesty. 3. Punishment not only extends to the Persons guilty, but to their Children, who are however Innocent, banished the Realm. 4. Death does not in this, as in other Cases, stop the Prosecution, Persons may be accused and condemned in their Graves.

POISONING, by the Law of France, is considered as a kind of Murder, more Criminal than that perpetrated by any Weapon; as to the Laws against this Offence, it would be needless to repeat them here, since they are considered at large in the Case of Madam Brinvilliere.

IN Cases of Self-Murder, the Proceedings, according to the Law of France, are very solemn and extraordinary; for on a Suggestion that such a Thing has happened, the Judge is bound to name a Curator for the dead
[c] *Body,*

Body, who is to take upon him the Defence thereof, and to sustain the Office of an Advocate for the Defunct. This Curator takes an Oath well and truly to perform his Office, and, as far as in his Power, to defend the Memory of the Dead. Then a Process is commenced against the Curator, as against any other Criminal, with this Difference only, that the Curator is not exposed to any Sort of Shame. The Process being ended, Sentence is pronounced, not against the Curator, but the dead Body, or if that be not to be had, then against the Memory of the Person deceased. The Curator however may, if he pleases, bring an Appeal; nay, the Relations of the Deceased may oblige him to bring it, and the Superior Courts may, if they please, name another Curator. All these Ceremonies are so essential, that if they are omitted, the Judgment is ipso Facto null, and the Judge who pronounced it is liable to great Damages.

IN the Year 1506, the following Case happened, a Physician and a Captain

tain happened to be Prisoners together in the Conciergerie, where they quarrell'd, the Physician snatch'd up a Knife, and stab'd the Captain, so that the Wound proved Mortal, upon this the Physician was put into Irons, and thrown into a Dungeon, where through Shame and Despair he strangled himself with his Shirt, the Judgment against his Body, after the afore-mentioned Formalities, was this, that he should be drawn on a Hurdle from the Prison, and then be cast into a Common-Shore.

IT is to be observed, that if a Man be out of his Senses at the Time he destroys himself, he shall not be treated as a Suicide.

IN the Year 1550, a Fool, who was sometimes a little in his Senses, hanged himself, the Judge of the Place condemn'd the Body to remain on a Gibbet, which was accordingly executed; the Wife and Heirs of the Deceased brought an Appeal, the Sentence was reversed, the Body ordered to be bu-

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ried in Holy Ground, the Lord of the Soil constrained to deliver up his Effects to his Relations, and his Widow and Heirs had leave to publish the Arret made in their Favour, to wipe off any Disgrace that might be reflected on them by the former Sentence. It is a Maxim in the French Law, that extreme Indigence shall be held Madness, and preserve the Body from any other Mark of Ignominy, than that of being buried out of Holy Ground.

Thefts and Robberies are punished in France according to the Circumstances that attend them. A simple Larceny is punished with whipping, burning the Shoulder with the Mark of a Flower de Lis, or Banishment for a certain Time; but if this be done in a Church, the Punishment is more severe if of holy Things, such as a Chalice, &c. then it is Death without Remission.

*IF Pick-pockets are caught in the Fact, in any of the Chambers of Parliament, sitting the Courts, they are
tried*

tried, convicted and condemned upon the Spot ; if a Servant robs his Master, tho' of ever so small a Matter, the Crime is generally speaking punished with Death, because from the Circumstances of Things, Masters are constrained to depend so much on the Fidelity of their Servants, that it is impossible to do too much towards keeping them within the Bounds of their Duty.

THE Law of France punishes very lightly a Theft committed merely to satisfy extreme Want, because it supposes that the Prosecutor, if he had known the Necessity of his Neighbour, would have given him what he took. Thus far of simple Larcenies, let us now consider Thefts of a grosser Nature.

THEFTS accompanied with aggravating Circumstances are stiled in French Vols, and those who commit them Voleurs, i. e. Robbery and Robbers. It would require a great deal of Time to treat this Matter accurately, I shall content myself therefore with observing,

ing, that the Phrase Vi & Armis, in the English Law, is expressive of the Essence of that Crime which the French style Vol. By an Ordinance of Francis the First, all Criminals of this Sort are to be broke alive, and placed on the Wheel ; this Ordinance directs.

“ THAT their *Arms* shall be broke
 “ in *two* Places, as also their *Ribs*,
 “ *Legs* and *Thighs*, and that they shall
 “ be placed on the Wheel *alive*, that
 “ they may have as much *Time* to *Re-*
 “ *pent*, as G O D shall please to give
 “ them.”

THE Construction of this Ordinance, as to *Persons*, has of late Times extended very far, tho' in *Regard* to the *Punishment* its Edge is frequently rebated. First, the Ordinance itself says, that the *Robberies* punished thereby must be committed in the *Night*, which in our Law constitutes a *Burglary* ; but the *French Lawyers* hold that *Robberies* committed in the *Day* are within the *Meaning* of this Ordinance.

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SECONDLY, *the Ordinance mentions nothing of Accomplices, which however the French Lawyers conceive to be so totally comprehended therein, that they punish as severely him who has the least Knowledge or Share in a Robbery, as he who actually committed it, and hence it is that the Maker of a false Key, is accountable for the Use of it, and if it be employed to commit a Robbery, suffers Death as well as the Robber, tho' he know nothing of the Matter.*

THIRDLY, *tho' the Law directs the Breaking of the Limbs to be while the Criminal is alive, it is conceived that this is at the Discretion of the Judges, and therefore they pass Judgment as they see fit.*

FRAUDULENT Bankrupts, *tho' they are not often punished with Death, yet are they frequently treated with great Severity, according to the Ordinances of various Kings, particularly of the late Lewis XIV.*

T H E R E

THERE is a very extraordinary Case in respect to this Crime, reported in the Journal du Palais, viz. May 30, 1673. That Francis Mercier was convicted of becoming a fraudulent Bankrupt, and John Baptift Desves of assisting him as an Attorney with his Council and Advice for the better carrying on of the said fraudulent Bankruptcy ; the Judgment pronounced, was, that the said Mercier and Desves shall each of them make the Amende honorable naked in their Shirts, with Ropes about their Necks, their Feet bare, each with a burning Torch of two Pounds weight in his Hand ; Mercier with a Label on his Breast, containing these Words, A FRAUDULENT BANKRUPT ; Desves with a Label containing these Words, AN ABETTOR, COUNSELLOR, AND ADHERENT OF THIS BANKRUPT, AND A CONCEALER OF HIS EFFECTS. They shall be conducted to the Great Stairs of the Palais, where the said Mercier kneeling on his Knees shall declare with a loud Voice, that maliciously and fraudulently he became a
Bankrupt,

Bankrupt, with Intent to cheat his Creditors, and with that View inserted fictitious Entries in his Books; *in like Manner the said Delves shall kneel and declare, that he advised and assisted the said Bankrupt, and that he concealed the Effects of the said Mercier; of which Crimes they shall both declare their sincere Repentance, and that they demand Pardon of God, the King, and the Justice of the Realm.*

THEY shall then be conducted by the Executioner to two other Places, where they shall make the same Declarations, they shall stand two Hours in the Pillory for three Market-Days successively, after which they shall be sent for nine Years to the Gallies, their Effects to be sold, and applied to the Payment of their Debts, and their Persons, after the said nine Years Service in the Gallies, to be liable to Imprisonment, if their Creditors shall think fit.

THERE is yet another Sort of Capital Crime hitherto not spoken of, and that is, Violating a Woman, which

which in our Law is stiled a Rape, which the French distinguish into two Kinds, Rapes by Force, and Rapes by Seduction ; the first where Violence is used, the second where, tho' the Woman consent, her Family is prejudiced, they are both punished with Death. Sodomy and Bestiality are likewise punished without Remission.

THE Offences hitherto treated of relate wholly to Mankind, there are other Crimes more heinous than any of these, because they affront the Majesty of GOD, these may be distinguished into three Classes, such as renounce Him for their Protector, and fly to and correspond with, or at least attempt to correspond with the Devil ; such as Profane his Laws, or Things solemnly consecrated to his Service, and such as swear falsely by his Name, or openly despise or deride him.

THE first Class are generally call'd Wizzards, Witches, or Magicians ; the second Sacrilegious Persons ; the third Blasphemers and Infidels. As to the first,

first, where the highest Degree of the Crime is fully proved, they are punished with Burning ; lesser Offences of the same Nature are punished according to the Discretion of the Judges. Sacrileges of all Sorts are severely punished in France, according to their different Degrees of Guilt, as an Instance of this Severity, it is sufficient to observe that walking up and down a Church, while divine Service is performing, is punished with Imprisonment.

AS to Blasphemers they likewise are or should be punished with the utmost Severity, in Proportion to their Crimes. Atheism, as in the Case of Vanini, is punished in France with Death. Of Blasphemous Expressions I think it not amiss to report one Instance, in order to skew that in so polite a Country as France, this is thought a flagrant Crime, tho' in some neighbouring Nations it is the usual Seasoning of Discourse ; but every Country has its Custom, in some Places Treasons, in others Blasphemies are shocking ; but to the Point, Nicholas le Melle, being convicted

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convicted of blasphemous Expressions, was condemned to make the Amende Honorable at the great Gate of the Cathedral of Paris ; after which he had his Tongue bored through with a Red-hot Iron, his Lips slit to the Chin, and to his Nose ; afterwards he was acquainted by the Hangman, that if after fourteen Days he was found in the Dominions of France, he should be hanged without any farther Process.

M. Lange, in his Nouvelle Pratique, Civile, Criminelle, &c. Complains, that tho' there are now many Blasphemers in that Kingdom, yet few are punished: What would that Gentleman say, if he lived in a Country, where if one may be allowed to pronounce from Practice, Blasphemy is scarce thought a Crime at all ?

II. *WE are now come to the second Point we promised to consider, viz. the Manner of proceeding against Criminals in France. With Respect to this, there is one general Rule, viz. That every Crime should be punished in the Place*

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Place where it is committed; *but to this Rule there are many Exceptions arising from the Nature of the Crime, the Quality of the Prisoner, and the Quality of the Prosecutor.*

CRIMES which have any Relation to the State, are cognizable only by the Royal Judges, *i. e.* Such as derive their Authority immediately from the King; other Offences are judged without Appeal, by the ordinary Judges; there are three Sorts of Persons privileged in France.

FIRST Ecclesiasticks, over whom the Civil Magistrates has no Power, except in capital Cases, wherein as the Kings of France have wisely distinguished, it would be preposterous to remit to the ecclesiastical Courts, since the Church cannot punish with Death.

THE second privileged Set of People are Gentlemen, who have a Right to appeal to Parliament; but this Right is not allowed in scandalous Crimes, such as Robbery, or Assassination; be-
[d] cause

cause the French Law will not hold him for a Gentleman, who can have afforded just Cause of Prosecution for such Crimes.

T H E third Rank of privileged Persons, are Secretaries of State, and the King's Officers of Revenue, who are not to be prosecuted but before the Parliament of Paris. When a Person is taken for any Crime, he is to be carried to the Prison of the Place where it was committed, or if there be no Prison there, to the next Prison, the Judge, who has Jurisdiction there, must immediately cause the Prisoner to be carried to the Spot the Crime was committed on, and there hear and take such Informations as he can receive in Relation to the Charge.

*T H E Judge has Power to summon Physicians, Surgeons, and all other Persons, whose Report he shall think necessary to give him a better Idea of the Facts. With Respect to Informations taken against a Criminal, several Rules are strictly to be observed: In
the*

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the first Place none but the proper Clerk [Greffier] can take Minutes of Informations, or Examinations; next, every Deposition must be signed by the Judge, the Greffier, and the Witness. Thirdly, Notice must be taken at the End of the Deposition, that it was distinctly read to the Witness, that he persisted therein, and that he signed it. Fourthly, there must be no sort of Interlineation in a Deposition. Fifthly, every Page of the Information must be mark'd and signed by the Judge, in Cases where there is a Doubt, that some Persons could give material Evidence in a Cause if they pleased; Monitories are directed to be read in Churches, requiring all such as know any Matter, or Thing, relating to a Cause mentioned in the Monitory, to go and reveal it to the Judge, or Judges, on pain of ecclesiastical Censures.

PRISONERS are to be interrogated within 24 Hours at most, in the Presence of the Judge, and not by his
[d 2] Clerk,

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Clerk, *on pain of both being suspended from their Offices.*

A L L Goalers are forbid to suffer a Prisoner to converse with any other Prisoners, till he has been interrogated; on his Interrogation the Criminal shall be upon his Oath, and where the Matter requires it, he shall be confronted with the Witnesses. Where the Proofs for and against the Prisoner are in Equilibrio, the Judges may order the Prisoner to be put to the Question, that is, to the Torture.

A L L Judges, having the Power of Life and Death, have Power also to put to the Question. Persons of great Dignity, such as are very young, very old, very sick, very infirm, and Women with Child are exempt; the Proofs must be strong, and the Crime must be capital, where a Person is adjudged to the Question.

T H E Criminal is to be examined by the Judge, before he is put to the Question, which Examination he is to sign,

sign, or refuse to sign, then he is to be tortured in the Presence of the Judge.

T H E Torture is different in the several Provinces of France. At Paris the Method is to Cause the Prisoner's Body to be excessively extended, and then to oblige him, or her, to drink three or four Pots of Water ; in the extraordinary Torture this is repeated.

I T is observable, that in all these Proceedings much Circumspection is used, and all necessary Time afforded for the Prosecutor, to make good his Complaint, and for the Prisoner to justify his Innocence.

A P P E A L S are likewise allowed from inferior Judicatories, and where the Concerns of other Persons interfere in a criminal Prosecution, they are allowed to make themselves Parties in the Cause, and to act as they see fit, for their own Security.

AFTER all, as no human Judicatory can pretend to Infallibility, if any are wrongfully condemned, they are not precluded from Remedy, but may have Letters of Revision, if living; and their Heirs have also a Power of vindicating their Memories, in Case they were punished Capitally, or died before they could make their Innocence appear.

THE English Reader, after perusing this Preface, and much more after perusing the Book, will be of Opinion, that it is a vulgar Mistake, that the arbitrary Government of France, renders the Liberties and Properties of its People absolutely precarious.

HE will indeed have just Reason to bless GOD that he lives in a Country, where the Laws are not revokeable at the Will of the Prince, and where he has a Birth-Right in the Constitution, which cannot be taken from him; but he will at the same Time see just Reason to admire the
Wisdom

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Wisdom of the Gallick Laws, and that Equity and Patience, which is so remarkably visible in the following Memoirs of Criminal Prosecutions.

IN a Word, these Sheets will be of Use to inform and enlarge his Mind, and to cure him of those Errors, which have Ignorance for their Parent, and whose Offspring are Contempt and Ridicule.



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GALLICK REPORTS,

O R, A N

Historical Collection

O F

S E L E C T Criminal Cases, &c.

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Arnaud du Tilh, *taking Advantage of the Absence of Martin Guerre, and having made himself acquainted with the most minute Circumstances of his Life; imposed himself not only on the Relations of Martin, but even on his Wife; and being after some Years suspected, he for a time puzzled the Parliament of Thoulouse, even though the true Martin Guerre was returned, and they appeared together Face to Face.*



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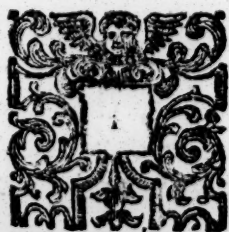
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Sometimes indeed Nature seems to digress from this general Rule, and as *Lopez de Vega* observes, being weary of designing new Faces, she now and then copies with admirable Exactness, some of those which she had formed before. An Accident of this Sort gave Occasion to the Transaction I am about to relate, than which nothing of its Kind was ever more melancholly or extraordinary.

MARTIN GUERRE, born in *Biscay*; at about *eleven* Years of Age married, in the Month of *January*, 1559; *Bertrand de Rols* of *Artigues*, in the Diocese of *Rieux*; the Girl was much of his own Age, and equally distinguished for Beauty and good Sense. This Couple lived together in respect to Fortune, comfortably enough, being in their Circumstances raised something above the Degree of *Peasants*. For *nine* or *ten* Years the Husband *Martin* lived constantly at Home with his Wife, though for the first *eight* or *nine*, but in uneasy Way; for notwithstanding he had the strongest Desire imaginable to enjoy his lovely Spouse, yet in all that Time he found it impossible, whereupon he took it into his Head that he was bewitched, and that his Impotency was the Effect of some Charm. He persuaded his Wife too that this was really the Case; and the poor young Woman was so well satisfied, that she lived with him with very cordial Affection, notwithstanding the Suggestions of her Friends, that she might lawfully leave him; to which she constantly answered that her Love was not sensual, and that she would not forsake her Husband.

IN the mean Time however, she neglected not such Means as the good old Women advised her to, for the dissolving of this Charm. At last *Martin's* Wishes and hers had their Effect, for the Cause ceasing, which was his tender Age, an Ability of Consummation followed in his *twentieth* Year ; so that on the *tenth* Year after their Marriage, *Bertrand* had a Son named *Sanxi*. Not long after this, *Martin* having put some little Cheat upon his Father, in Respect to a Quantity of Corn, thought fit to withdraw to avoid the Effects of his Anger. Yet at first in all Probability, he did not intend to absent himself long, but being either charmed with the Liberty which he enjoyed, or having conceived upon some Account or other, a Dislike to his Wife, from which neither Beauty nor Wit can always exempt : He for *eight* Years together neglected to give the least Notice to his Family of his Condition, or where he was. Such a Behaviour as this might well have exasperated a young Woman, and inclined her to act in such a Manner, as might have done no Honour to her Husband ; or at least, a Neighbourhood might have easily taken an Opportunity from these Transactions to have injured the Character of a Woman in *Bertrand's* Circumstances. But such was her good Fortune, or rather so unexceptionable was her Carriage, that she neither did any thing which deserved Blame, nor provoked the Tongues of those who are ready to blame People without Reason.

AT the end of *eight* Years came one *Arnaud du Tilh* of *Sagias*, commonly called *Panfette* ;

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as he had exactly the same Features, Stature and Complexion of *Martin Guerre*, he was acknowledged for the true Husband of *Bertrand de Rols*, by her Spouses *four* Sisters, his Uncle, her own Relations, and herself. This Man was very perfect in his Tale, having known *Martin Guerre* Abroad, and having learned from him all the little Secrets which were between him and his Wife, the tender Conversations they had had, and those hidden Dates of private Events which are generally held the most sacred Misteries of the Marriage Bed : In a Word, he had furnished himself so well, that *Martin* himself could not have given a better Account of his own Adventures, nay possibly, he would not have given one so good. As for the poor Woman, she sincerely loved her Husband, had sighed deeply for his Absence, and ardently wished his Return, so that she easily persuading herself, that he who now appeared, was the true *Martin Guerre*, yielded readily to his Embraces, and in the Space of *three* Years had *two* Children by him, one of which however died as soon as it was born.

THE *Impostor* all this while lived in full Possession of all that the true *Martin Guerre* had, not only in the Neighbourhood of *Artigues*, but also in *Biscay*, where he sold some Lands to which *Martin* was Heir. Some People have fancied, that all this could have never been done, if *Bertrand* had not assisted him ; because however other Persons may be deceived, Wives are generally too well acquainted with their Husbands, to be imposed on in such a manner. However, by some Means or other, *Peter Guerre* the Uncle of *Martin*

tin, and some other Persons in the Town got a little Light into the Cheat, which by Degrees they improved so far, till at last they opened not only their own Eyes, but also those of *Bertrand de Rols*; she thereupon applied to the Magistrate, and caused him to be apprehended, presenting a *Bill of Complaint* against him before the Criminal Judge of *Rieux*; and praying in the Close thereof, “ That he might be condemned to make
 “ Satisfaction to the King for the Breach of his Laws,
 “ to demand Pardon of God, the King and her, with
 “ his Head bare, his Feet naked and in his Shirt, with
 “ a lighted Torch in his Hand; declaring, that he
 “ had falsely, rashly and traiterously imposed upon
 “ her, in assuming the Name and passing himself
 “ upon her for *Martin Guerre*, for which he is
 “ sorry and asks her Pardon; that he should be
 “ further adjudged to pay her two thousand
 “ Livres for the Injuries he had done her”.

MANY were of Opinion, that this Prosecution sprung from some Distaste the Woman had taken to the Man she Prosecuted; or that it was a Piece of Revenge on Account of some Quarrel that had happened between them; others regarded the good Character which hitherto she had born, and observing that she was naturally of a mild complying Temper, they imagined that she was at first easily prevailed on to believe this *Impostor*; and again, as easily engaged to give Credit to the Suggestions of *Peter Guerre* her Husband's Uncle, because it is no uncommon Thing for Persons of an indolent Disposition, to act like mere Machines, according as they are influenced by others.

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ON the other Hand, *Arnaud du Tilh* exclaimed against the wicked Conspiracy which his Relations and his Wife had formed against him. He said that *Peter Guerre* had trumped up this Business merely out of Covetousness, and with a View to possess himself of his Effects; that he had drawn in his Wife, through the Weakness of her Understanding, to be a Party in this black Affair, and that a more execrable Villainy was never heard of than this, which they had contrived. He also gave an Account of the Reasons which induced him to leave his Habitation, and of his Adventures from the Time that he quitted it; he asserted that he served the King in his Wars between *seven* and *eight* Years, that afterwards he listed himself in the Troops of the King of *Spain*; but that burning with an earnest Desire to return to his dear Wife and Family, he quitted that Service in a few Months, and made the best of his way to *Artigues*. That on his Arrival he had the Satisfaction of being received, notwithstanding the Alteration which Time, and the cutting off his Hair, might have made, with the utmost Joy, by all his Relations and Acquaintance, not excepting this very *Peter Guerre*, who had stirred up the present Prosecution. That this Man had frequently differed with him since his coming Home, their Quarrels sometimes having produced Blows, and that once he would have killed him with a Bar of Iron, had not his Wife interposed. These Particulars he digested into his *Answer* to the *Bill of Complaint*, preferr'd by *Bertrand de Rols*, praying in the Close thereof, " That his Wife might be confronted with him, " because he could not possibly believe that she was " yet

“ yet so wicked a Woman as absolutely to deny
 “ the Truth. That his Calumniators might, ac-
 “ cording to the Laws of Equity, be condemned
 “ to suffer those Punishments they would have in-
 “ flicted upon him ; that *Bertrand de Rols* should
 “ be taken out of the Power of his Enemies, and
 “ be hindred from dissipating his Effects ; in fine,
 “ that he should be declared Innocent of the
 “ Crimes alledged against him, and the Prosecu-
 “ tion be dismissed with Costs.”

HE submitted to a long Examination before the *Criminal Judge*, who interrogated him as to Matters which happen'd in *Biscay*, the Place of *Martin Guerres* Birth, his Father, his Mother, Brothers, Sisters, and other Relations, as to the Year, the Month, and the Day of his (*Martin Guerres*) Marriage, his Father-in-Law, Mother-in-Law, the Persons who were present at the Nuptials, those who dined with them, their different Dresses, the Priest who performed the Ceremony, all the little Circumstances that happen'd that Day, and the next, even to naming the People who were present when they were put to Bed. His Answers were clear and distinct to each of these Points, and as if he had not been satisfy'd with performing what the Judge required of him ; he spoke of his own accord of his Son *Sanxi*, of the Day he was born, of his own Departure, of the Persons he met with on the Road, of the Towns he had passed through in *France* and in *Spain*, of the *Persons* he had seen in both Kingdoms ; and that nothing might be wanting to confirm his Innocence, he named many Persons who were able to testify the Truth of what he had declared.

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THE Court ordered *Bertrand de Rols*, and several other Persons, whom the Accused had cited to answer upon *Interrogatories*, which they did, *Bertrand* answered in a Manner which agreed exactly with all that the *Impostor* had advanced, except that she related the *Story* of his being bewitched for eight or nine Years, which he had omitted, and she was very particular as to the Circumstances thereof. The *Person accused* was then questioned as to that Point, and his Replies were such as tallied exactly with what *Bertrand* had said, he repeated all that had been done to free them from that Enchantment, and never once slipped in the slightest Circumstance. He was next confronted with the *Woman* he called his *Wife*, and with all the *Witnesses*, upon which he renewed his Demand, that she might be kept safely and apart from his Enemies, which was granted. He offered certain Objections to the Credit of the *Witnesses* produced against him, and required that a *Monitory* should be published, exhorting all Persons to come in and give what Light they could as to the *Subornation* of *Bertrand de Rols*, and the Characters of the *Witnesses* he had impeached. This too was allowed him. But at the same Time it was directed that an *Inquisition* should be taken at the several *Places* following, viz. at *Pin*, at *Sagias*, and at *Artigues*, of all the Facts which might concern *Martin Guerre*, and the accused *Bertrand de Rols*, and the *Reputation* of the *Witnesses*. All the Discoveries consequent on these Proceedings were perfectly favourable to *Bertrand, de Rols*, confirmed the Opinion which had been entertained of her Virtue, and proved that she had not lost her
Senses

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Senses during the Absence of her Husband, as the *Impester* had suggested.

IN respect to the *Accused*, of near *One hundred and fifty* Witnesses that were examined, between *thirty* and *forty* deposed that he was the true *Martin Guerre*, that they had known him, and conversed with him from his Infancy ; that they were perfectly acquainted with his Person, Manners and Tone of Voice ; and that they moreover were convinced of the Truth of what they asserted, by the Observation of certain Scars and secret Marks, which it was impossible for time to efface.

ON the other Hand, a great Number of *Witnesses* deposed positively, that he was *Arnaud du Tilh*, called *Pansette*, and that they were perfectly acquainted with his Person, Manners and Voice. The rest of the *Witnesses*, to the Number of *sixty* and upwards, declared that there was so strong a Resemblance between the *two Persons*, concerned in this Matter, that it was simply impossible for them to declare whether, the *Accused* was *Martin Guerre*, or *Arnaud du Tilh*.

THE *Criminal Judge* of *Rieux* ordered *two Reports* to be made to him, *one* of the Likeness or Unlikeness of *Sanxi Guerre* to the *Accused*, the *other* as to the Likeness of the same Child to the *Sister's* of *Martin Guerre*. As to the *first* it was found that *Sanxi* did not resemble the *Accused* at all, and on the *second*, that he was very like his *Father's Sister's*. In fine, upon these Circumstances, this *Judge* thought proper to pronounce his definitive Sentence, which was as follows:

THAT Arnaud du Tilh is guilty, and Con-
 victed of being an Impostor, and for that Crime is
 condemned to lose his Head, and further that his
 Body be afterwards divided into four Quarters.

THIS Judgment was (generally speaking) look-
 ed upon as too quick, and too severe; for without
 arrogating to himself some divine Inspiration, Peo-
 ple were at a Loss to find out on what Grounds
 the Judge of Rieux founded this Decision, Matters
 remaining in other Peoples Eyes so perplexed, that
 few who were well acquainted with the Proofs on
 both Sides, knew not what to make of the Matter.
 The Publick therefore was far from being dis-
 pleased, that *Arnaud du Tilh*, in Order to gain
 Time at least, had appealed to the *Parliament* of
Tholouse; upon which, this extraordinary Cause
 now making a great Noise, every One began to
 turn his Eyes with Attention.

THAT *August Assembly*, as soon as they had
 received proper Information of what had been
 done below, began to take all the necessary Mea-
 sures for a further Enquiry, with the utmost Cau-
 tion; in the first Place they ordered *Peter Guerre*,
 and *Bertrand de Rols* to be confronted in open
 Court, with the Person whom they accused; but
 singly one after the other. In these *Confrontations*
 the *Accused* maintained so steady a Countenance,
 spoke with such an Air of Assurance and Truth, and
 answered every Question with such Quickness and
 Perspicuity, that the Members of that Venerable
Tribunal, were induced to think that he was the true
Martin Guerre. While on the other Hand, the
 Terror

Terror and Confusion of *Peter Guerre* and *Bertrand de Rols* was so great, that they created strong Suspicions of their being perjured Persons, and false Accusers. But as these Circumstances could not be looked on as full Evidence, an *Inquisition* was ordered as to the principal Facts in Dispute, with this Limitation, that none but new Witnesses should be examined.

THIS wise and prudent *Ordinance* of the *Parliament* of *Tholouse* was so far from procuring any new Lights, that it served only to render this intricate Affair still more obscure than it was before. *Thirty* new Witnesses were examined, *nine* or *ten* of these were positive that he was the true *Martin Guerre*; *seven* or *eight* were as positive that he was *Arnaud du Tilh*; the rest having weighed all Circumstances, and being afraid of injuring their Consciences, declared plainly that they were not able to say who he was. The *Parliament* were now more in Doubt than ever, they could not concur with the *Criminal Judge* of *Rieux*, and yet they were afraid of discharging the *Criminal*, in order to put an End to so odd a Cause, they summed up the *Proofs* on both Sides.

ON one Hand it appeared that *forty-five* Witnesses had affirmed in Terms the most express, that he was not *Martin Guerre*, but *Arnaud du Tilh*, which they said they were the better enabled to do, because they had known both Persons intimately, eat and drank with them, and conversed constantly with them from their very Childhood; nay, some of them went still farther.

CARBON BARREAU, Uncle by the Mother's Side of *Arnaud du Tilh*, acknowledged that he was his Nephew, and observing the *Irons* that were upon his Legs, cried bitterly, and bewailed his Misfortune in having a Relation in such a Condition ; he said farther, that he had in his Life-time been concerned in several Contracts with his Nephew, and he actually produced those Writings signed by *Arnaud du Tilh*. Most of these Witnesses agreed, that *Martin Guerre* was taller, and of a darker Complexion, that he was slender, his Legs a little crooked, stooping in the Shoulders, his Chin forked and turning up, his lower Lip hanging, his Nose large and flat, the Mark of an Ulcer in his Face, and a Scar in his right Eyebrow ; whereas *Arnaud du Tilh* was a dapper well-set Man, his Legs large and full, and he had neither a flat Nose, nor was his Chin crooked ; but in his Face indeed he had the same Marks with *Martin Guerre*

THE Shoemaker, who used to make Shoes for *Martin Guerre*, deposed that *Martin's* Foot reached to the *Twelfth Mark*, whereas the Foot of the *Accused* reached no farther than the *Ninth Mark* upon his *Rule*. Another Witness swore that *Martin Guerre* was dexterous in Wrestling, whereas this Man knew nothing of the Matter. *John Espagnol*, who kept a Publick-House, declared, that the *Accused* acknowledged to him that he was not *Martin Guerre*. *Valentine Rougie* deposed, that the Person accused perceiving that he knew him to be *Arnaud du Tilh*, made a Sign to him with his Finger, that he should say nothing.

John

John de Liberos deposed to the same Effect, and added, that the Accused gave him two Handkerchiefs, with a strict Charge to give one of them to *John du Tilh* his Brother. There were also some hearsay Evidences produced. Two Persons swore that a *Soldier* of the Regiment of *Rochfort*, passing through *Artigues*, was surprized at seeing the Accused assume the Name of *Martin Guerre*, declaring aloud, and without Ceremony, that he was a notorious *Impostor*, for that *Martin Guerre* was actually in *Flanders*, and had a wooden Leg, in the Room of one he lost before *St. Quintin*, in the Battle of *St. Laurence*.

IT was also remarked that *Martin Guerre*, being a *Biscayner*, had the Tone of his Country, the *Bask* being a Language very different not only from *French*, but from the *Gascon*, whereas the Accused could not speak the *Bask*, but took Pains to mingle a few Words which he had learned of it with his *French*, repeating them with a visible Affectation. There was also a Cloud of Witnesses who deposed, that *Arnaud du Tilh* was from his Infancy very wickedly given, and that his Impudence was from his Youth surprizing, that he was always Light-finger'd, a great Swearer, one that had no Fear of God, and a flagrant Blasphemer; in a Word, that he was every way capable of the Crime laid to his Charge, and that an obstinate persisting in Falsehood and Mischief was exactly suitable to his Character. These Circumstances bore hard upon him.

BUT

BUT on the other Hand, there were *thirty* or *forty* Witneſſes, who ſwore roundly that he was the true *Martin Guerre*, that they knew him intimately, and remembered him from his Childhood; among theſe were the *four* Siſters of *Martin Guerre*, who were all brought up with him, and who had all the Reputation of being Women of good Senſe; two of their Huſbands, Brothers-in-Law to *Martin Guerre*, were likewiſe of the Number. Such as were preſent at the Nuptials of *Martin Guerre* and *Bertrand de Rols*, depoſed in Favour of the *Accuſed*; *Catherine Boere* in particular ſaid, that when ſhe carried the *Poſſet* after they were in Bed, ſhe ſaw *Bertrand's* Spouſe, and that the Perſon now *accuſed* was the ſame.

ALL, or at leaſt the greateſt Part of theſe Witneſſes agreed, that *Martin Guerre* had two Strokes under his Eye-brow, that his left Eye was Blood-ſhot, the Nail of his firſt Finger crooked, that he had three Warts on his right Hand, and another on his little Finger, all of which were plainly to be ſeen on the *Accuſed*.

IT was alledged alſo in his Favour, that *Bertrand de Rols* never had it in her own Mind to accuſe him; but on the contrary, was perſuaded into it, and even frightened thereto by others. *Peter Guerre* had married her *Mother*, and theſe two having conceived a Spleen againſt the *Accuſed*, did all they could to ſet him and *Bertrand* at Variance, that by the Contrivance of theſe Perſons, the *Accuſed* was once taken up before for a Crime, of which he was not guilty, and that upon his
being

being discharged and coming home, his Wife (as he called her) received him with all possible Kindness, gave him a new Shirt, washed his Feet, and went to Bed to him ; where all things passed between them which is usual among married Persons, and yet the next Morning he was hurried to Prison by *Peter Guerre*, by Virtue of a Paper signed by *Bertrand de Rols*, the Night before, that is the Night in which she had expressed all this Fondness for him, nay, that she had discovered her Tenderness since his being in Prison, by sending him Money and Cloaths.

IT would be trespassing too far on the *Patience* of my *Readers*, to give them at large the *Pleadings* of the *Lawyers* on this very perplexed Business. I shall content my self therefore with saying, that nothing can be more neat or elegant, nothing more strong, nothing more charming than the Discourses of the *Advocates* on both Sides, as they are cited by Mr. *Coras*, the original *Reporter* of this *Case* ; but in Spight of all their Harrangues, the *Parliament* continued in Doubt, and at last considering the Nicety of the Case, and the Consequences which might attend it, in Respect to annulling a *Marriage*, and illegitimizing a *Child*, they began to incline to the Part of the *Accused*, and had Thoughts of reversing the *Judgment* of the *inferior Judge*. When of a Sudden, as if he had dropped out of the Clouds, or rather had been led thither by an immediate Interposition of Providence, *Martin Guerre* himself appeared, having a *wooden Leg* as the Soldier had said ; he asserted, that he came from *Spain*, gave a distinct Account of the *Impostor* who had taken his Name, and presenting

senting a *Petition* to the *Parliament*, demanded that he might be heard.

THE *Court* upon this wonderful Incident, gave Directions, that he should be kept in *safe Custody*, that he should submit to an Interrogatory in Form, that he should be confronted with the *accused*, with *Bertrand de Rols*, with his *Sisters*, and with the Principal *Witnesses*, who had deposed in favour of the *accused*. He was interrogated in respect of the same *Facts* on which the *accused* had been questioned, and his Answers were true indeed ; but they were neither so clear, so positive, nor so exact, as those given by the *accused*. When he came to be confronted with him who had assumed his Name ; *Arnaud du Tilh*, behaved in such a manner, as struck the whole *Assembly* with Amazement ; he treated *Martin Guerre* as an *Impostor*, as a Fellow picked out by *Peter Guerre*, to support this Character, and take away his Life ; nay, he proceeded so far as to say in a high Tone, that *he would be content to be hanged, if he did not unravel the whole Mystery, and prove all his Enemies Cheats*. He then asked *Martin Guerre* abundance of Questions, as to several of his Transactions, to which *Martin* answered but faintly, and with some Confusion ; but the *Commissioners* having directed *Arnaud du Tilh* to withdraw, put several Questions to *Martin Guerre* that were new, and had never been demanded before, and his Answers were very full and satisfactory ; then they called for *Arnaud du Tilh* again, and questioned him as to the same *Points*, to the Number of *ten or twelve* ; but all his *Replies* were so clear, and so correspondent to what *Martin Guerre* had said,

said, that some began to think there was *Witchcraft* in this Business, which still grew darker and darker.

THE Court resolving to clear up this unaccountable Obscurity, directed that now both the Persons were present, the four Sisters of *Martin Guerre*, the Husbands of two of them, *Peter Guerre*, the Brothers of *Arnaud du Tilh*, and the chief of those Witnesses who were obstinate in owning the accused for *Martin Guerre*, should be called in, and obliged to pick out him that they should now judge to be the true *Martin*. Accordingly all these Persons appeared, except the Brothers of *Arnaud du Tilh*, whom neither fair Words nor Threatnings could force to Court, which being reported, they were allowed to withdraw ; it seeming an Act of Inhumanity to oblige them to depose against so near a Relation ; all things being now settled, the Persons to be interrogated were directed to come forwards One by One.

THE first who drew near the two Persons claiming the Name of *Martin Guerre*, was the eldest of the Sisters, who after she had looked upon them a Moment, ran to *Martin Guerre*, embraced him, and having let fall a Shower of Tears, addressed herself to the Commissioners in these Words, " See Gentlemen said she, my Brother "
 " *Martin Guerre* ; I acknowledge the Error into "
 " which this wicked Man (*pointing to Arnaud du "*
 " *Tilh*) drew me, and many other of the Inha- "
 " bitants of *Artigues*, and in which by a multi- "
 " tude of Artifices he has made us persist so long".
Martin all this time mingled his Tears with those
 of

of his *Sister*, and received her Embraces with the utmost Affection. All the rest knew him as soon they saw him, and there was not one of all the Witnesses that did not acknowledge the Matter was now plain, and that *Arnaud du Tilh* was an *Impostor*.

LAST of all *Bertrand de Rols* was called in, she no sooner cast her Eyes on her *Husband*, but she turned pale, burst into Tears, and fell a trembling like Leaves in a high Wind; she approached him slowly, fell at his Knees, and taking hold of his Hand, after some Moments she addressed herself to him in Words the most eloquent imaginable; because they seemed clearly to flow from a Spirit of Innocence and Truth. She said it was the Error of his Sisters, was the original Cause of her Misfortune, that the strong Passion she had for him, and her earnest Desire to see him again, that helped on the Cheat; she affirmed that the many Particularities which the *Impostor* repeated, and the exact Knowledge he had of all that had passed between them, for a while quite closed her Eyes; that as soon as she discovered her Mistake, she would have instantly have put him to Death with her own Hands, if the Fear of God had not with-held her; that however she put him into the Hands of *Justice*, and demanded by her Bill of Complaint, that he should be most severely punished, that in Consequence of her vigorous Prosecution, he was condemned to be *beheaded*, and to have his *Body* cut into *four Quarters*; which Sentence was not prevented by any Tenderness on her Part, but by his own *Appeal* to the *Parliament*.

BUT

BUT *Martin Guerre*, who had been so sensible of the Testimonies of the Love, Friendship and Tenderneſs given him by his Sisters, remained wholly unmoved by theſe Excuses of his Wife, he heard her indeed without Interruption ; but then with an Air of Contempt, and putting on a ſevere Brow, “ You may ceaſe crying (ſaid he in a ſurly “ Tone) my Heart can never be touched by your “ Tears, it ſignifies not your pretending to juſtify “ yourſelf from the Conduct of my Sisters, and “ my Uncle ; a Wife has more Ways of knowing a Huſband, than a Father, a Mother, and “ all his Relations put together ; nor is it poſſible “ ſhe ſhould be impoſed on, unleſs ſhe has a “ Mind to be deceived ; you are the ſole Cauſe “ of the Miſfortunes of my Family, and I ſhall “ never impute my Diſgrace to any Body but “ you”. In vain the Commiſſioners endeavoured to enforce what the unfortunate *Bertrand de Rols* had ſaid, in order to make her Huſband comprehend her Innocence ; he perſiſting in a fullen Air of Indifference, and ſhewed plainly enough that his Anger was ſuch as Time only could efface. We are not told how *Arnaud du Tilh* behaved on this Diſcovery ; but it is moſt probable, that he ſtood it out with his uſual Impudence ; ſince it is certain he did not confeſs the Truth of what was laid to his Charge till after his Return to *Artigues*.

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ALL Things being now ripe, the Court after mature Deliberation, pronounced the following Sentence.

UPON reviewing the Proceſs before the Criminal Judge of Rieux, againſt Arnaud du Tilh, called Panſette; but aſſerting himſelf to be Martin Guerre, Priſoner in the Conciergerie, and appealing from the Judgment, &c. which Appeal being received and heard, and the ſaid Arnaud du Tilh appearing to be guilty, this Court hath thought fit to declare the ſame; and for the Punishment and Reparation of the Impoſtor, Fraud, Aſſumption of a falſe Name, and Perſon, Adultery, Rape, Sacrilege, Plagiation, Theft, and other Crimes of the ſaid du Tilh ſet forth in the ſaid Proceſs, the Court hath condemned, and doth condemn him, the ſaid Du Tilh, to make Amende honorable in the Market Place of Artigues in his Shirt, his Head and Feet being bare, a Halter about his Neck, and holding in his Hands a lighted Torch, to demand Pardon of G O D, the King, and the Juſtice of the Nation; of the ſaid Martin Guerre and de Rols his Wife; and this being done, the ſaid du Tilh ſhall be delivered into the Hands of the Capital Executioner, who after making him paſs through the Streets, and other publick Places in the ſaid Town of Artigues, with a Rope about his Neck, at laſt ſhall bring him before the Houſe of the ſaid Martin Guerre, where on a Gallows ſet up for that Purpoſe, he ſhall be hanged and ſtrangled, and afterwards his Body ſhall be burnt. And for certain Cauſes and Conſiderations thereunto moving, this Court, they have ordained, and do hereby ordain, that all the Effects of the ſaid du Tilh, ſhall belong
to,

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to, and be the Property of the Daughter, begotten by him on the Body of the said Bertrand de Rols, under Colour of a Marriage by himself falsely pretended, in assuming and taking upon himself to be the said Martin Guerre, by Means whereof he deceived the said de Rols, and broke through all the Laws of Equity and Justice. And the said Court have discharged, and do hereby discharge from farther Attendance thereon, the said Martin Guerre, and Bertrand de Rols, and also Peter Guerre, Uncle of the said Martin, and have returned, and do hereby return the said du Tilh, into the Hands of the said Judge of Rieux, that he may cause to be put into Execution this Sentence, according to the Form and Tenor thereof, Pronounced judicially, this twelfth Day of September, 1560.

MONSIEUR de Coras, the Reporter of this Case observes, that the Sentence of the Criminal Judge of Rieux was invalid, by Reason of the Punishment therein inflicted; because *Decapitation* or *Beheading*, to which he condemned *Arnaud du Tilh*, is a Manner in which only Persons of Distinction are to be put to Death; nay, a Theft or a Treachery of such a Nature as deserves a capital Punishment, when committed by a Person of noble Extraction, requires no better Instrument than the *Gallows*; only the *Gibbet* in such a Case, is to be raised a little higher than ordinary.

IN this Sentence of *Arnaud du Tilh*, it is remarkable, that no less than seven very high and enormous Crimes are mentioned, [1] assuming a false Name, [2] pretending to be another Person

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son [3] Adultery [4] Rape [5] Sacrilege [6] Theft [7] Plagiatism, this last Crime is constituted by the Civil Law, and is committed when one detains a Person who is the Property of, or belongs unto another ; as also when a Person disposes of a Freeman, and either buys or sells him for a Slave.

As to the adjudging the Effects of *Arnaud du Tilh* to the Daughter of the Criminal, begotten on a Woman, who looked on him to be her lawful Husband, it was not a new Thing, the *French* Lawyers having reported various Cases of the like Nature. As for Example, where a Man married a *Second Wife*, the *First* being alive, and being ignorant thereof, in failure of Issue by the *First* Match, the *Inheritance* was given to the *Children* by the *Latter*, tho' the *Marriage* was not strictly legal. Monsieur *De Coras* says, that the *Court*, in drawing up this Sentence, was chiefly embarrassed on this Head, viz. How far *Martin Guerre* and *Bertrand de Rols*, his Wife, were guilty of breaking the Laws, and thereby liable to Censure. As to *Martin Guerre* it was said, that his abandoning his Wife was the Original Cause of all this Mischief; but what bore hardest upon him, was, his having carried Arms against his Prince at the Battle of *St. Laurence*, where he lost his Leg by a Cannon shot; as to the *First*, the Court were of Opinion, that as *Martin* acted rather from Levity than Malice, and as the Mischief complained of flowed from a Mixture of other Causes, his leaving his Wife, if it was a Crime, deserved not to be enquired into by any Court on this Side of the Grave, but ought to be left to the Decision of that great Day, wherein all Hearts shall be open, and all Secrets known.

T H A T

THAT as to the *Second*, it did not appear that his serving against his Prince was a voluntary Act. For going into *Spain*, he entered into the Service of the Cardinal *de Burgos*, and afterwards into that of a Brother's of the *Cardinal's*, who carried him into *Flanders*, whence he was obliged to go, whether he would or no, with his Master into the Army, and as in the Battle he lost his Leg, it seemed to them a sufficient Punishment, for his committing an Offence against his Will, and which he repaired as soon as 'twas in his Power.

IN regard to *Bertrand de Rols*, her Guilt was thought more apparent, that a Woman should be deceived in her Husband, was a Proposition few could digest, that the Notice which Persons so strictly united to one another, usually take of each others Person, should not furnish her with Marks whereby to know the *Impostor* from her Spouse; that she should never discover, in her secret Conversations with him, any Ignorance, or want of Remembrance, as to material Points, which might have happened in their Family Affairs, appeared very odd and unaccountable; yet the Character of the Woman, in Point of Honesty and Prudence, the acquiescing of the *four* Sisters of *Martin Guerre*, the rest of his Relations, besides a Multitude of other Persons in the Town of *Artigues*, who were all deceived as well as she; the surprising Likeness between her Husband and this Man, assuming his Name, and the wonderful Agreement of the several Marks on each of their Bodies, joined to that standing Maxim in the Law, that, *In*

a doubtful Case, Innocence is to be presumed, at last determined the Court to acquit and discharge her.

IN order to the Execution of the Sentence, *Arnaud du Tilh* was carried back to *Artigues*, he was there examined in Prison, by the *Criminal Judge* of *Rieux*, who first condemned him, on the 16th of *September*, 1560, and made a very long and exact Confession; he acknowledged that he was determined to commit this Crime by an Accident, which was this. Coming from the *Camp* in *Piccardy*, he was mistaken for *Martin Guerre*, by some of his (i. e. *Martin's*) Friends, from them he learn'd abundance of Circumstances concerning *Martin's* Father, Wife, Sister, and other Relations, and of every Thing he had done before he left that Country. These new Lights, added to the Materials he had obtained from *Martin Guerre* himself, in a Multitude of Conversations, put it fully in his Power to carry on the Cheat he had Projected, in the artful Manner he did.

HE denied however his making use of any *Charms*, or other *magical Feats*, for the furtherance of his Designs; he owned a great many other Crimes, which he had committed, and persisted in every Point of his Confession, when it was read over to him. At the Foot of the *Gal-lows*, erected over-against the House of *Martin Guerre*, he in the most humble Manner asked Pardon of him, and of his Wife; appeared a most hearty and sincere Penitent, testify'd the most lively Grief, for the Offences he had committed, and finally continued, as long as he had Life, to implore the Mercy of GOD, through JESUS CHRIST his Son.

HIS

HIS Death disagreeing absolutely with his Life, for as in the *One* he had shewn an obstinate *Love of Evil*, so in the *Other* he testify'd a truly *Christian Compunction*, and did all that could be expected from a Man under his unhappy Circumstances.

MONSIEUR *de Coras*, who furnished us with Memoirs of this Case, so curious and so extraordinary, was a *Native of Tholouse*, he studied the Law with great diligence, and having for many Years, discharged the Office of an *Advocate* with great Applause, he became at length *Counsellor* in the *Parliament of Tholouse*, and was esteem'd one of the most able Persons in that *venerable Assembly*.

As to his *Religion*, he was unfortunately a *Calvinist*, unfortunately I say, for merely on this Account, He with four of his Brethren of the same *Religion*, was hanged in his *Scarlet Robes* before the *Palace of Tholouse*, in the (famous) *Massacre*, on *St. Bartholomew's Day*. A miserable Instance of the Force of Bigottry, which prevented any Pity from being shewn, let the Age or Quality of the unhappy *Victims* be what they would; and this too in a Nation, which, from the very Process we have recorded, appears to have had as just Notions of *Right and Wrong*, of *Equity and Humanity*, as any other can boast of.



C A S E II.

Of a Person of Quality, who having with the most scandalous Circumstances debauched a young Woman, was on that Account sentenced to be put to Death ; which Sentence had been immediately carried into Execution, if the young Woman had not by a long Speech convinced the Court, that it ought to be respite for a Time, within which she procured a Dispensation, which put it in his Power to marry her, and thereby save his own Life.



THE Force of Love is so common a Topick, that it would be a Thing unpardonable in me to dwell long upon it in my Introduction to this History, I shall content myself therefore with saying, that we have no Instance thereof, either ancient or modern, more surprizing, more noble, or more pleasing than that which I am about to recite.

IN the Year 1594, a young Gentleman whose Name it is not necessary that the Publick should be acquainted with, whose Family dwelt in the Town of Sues in Normandy ; came to the University of Angiers, in order to study the Law. There he saw Renee Corbeau, the Daughter of a Citizen of that Place, four Words are sufficient to give a perfect

fect Picture of this amiable Girl; she was young, prudent, handsome and witty; all these shining Qualities were obscured, by the Want of something which the polite World would easily have passed by, but that which the Generality of Mankind will not suffer the Neglect of without Shame; it was Grace, or the Power of resisting the Solicitations of her Passion. Though her Parents were not rich, yet she inspired in the Heart of the young Gentleman we spoke of before, a Passion so vehement and tormenting, that he was unable to enjoy a Moments easiness when she was out of his Sight. He found means to introduce himself into her Company, and the Liveliness of his Passion, inspired him with such Eloquence, that in a very short Time, he was no less agreeable to her than she to him; and their Love became so fervent on each Side, that in his Transports he offered to espouse her, and gave her a solemn Promise in Writing. The young Women pushed on by the Violence of her Passion, and agreeably deluded by his putting this Paper into her Hands, forgot all her Prudence, and granted him what he desired. Thus Love in a Moment destroys a Virtue raising for many Years; and one unguarded Minute betrayed that Fort, which till then had been guarded with the utmost Care. The Consequence of this Fair Ones Tendernefs was, her being with Child; this Accident constrained her to acquaint her Mother with what had happened, and that good old Matron told it with all the Circumstances of Mitigation she could devise to her Husband. The young Woman was then sent for into their Presence, and after her Parents had reproached her in Terms severe enough, for the Slip she had been

guilty of, they then began to consult about the Means by which her Error might be repaired ; the Issue of their Deliberations was, that she should make her Lover an Appointment at their Country House, and so give her Parents an Opportunity of surprizing them.

THIS Scheme was effectually carried into Execution, and while Love alone possessed the Heart of the young *Innamorato*, Fear entred on a Sudden, and became the stronger Passion of the two ; the Sight of a Father and Mother enraged at the Injury done to their Daughter, banished for a Time the Idea of his charming Mistress from his Heart. He thought of nothing but how to pacify them, and in order thereto, assured them that his Intention was always Honourable, though he might have made Use of some indirect Means ; at this the Father and Mother of his Mistress, began to put on an Air of Satisfaction ; but at the same Time told him, that in order to evince the Truth of what he had said, it was very proper that he should give their Daughter a *Contract* of Marriage ; to this knowing no other Way to escape, he yielded, with a seeming Readiness ; and a *Notary Publick* being brought to the House for that Purpose, the Business was immediately dispatched, and the young Man tied to marry the Lady, however his Sentiments might alter afterwards.

BY I know not what Fatality it so came to pass, that the very Moment he had put his Hand to this Instrument, it filled him with Distaste, those Charms which had pierced his Heart a few
Hours

Hours before, now lost their Force, and the fair One from being the most lovely of her Sex, appeared now the least agreeable. Constraint cannot long be endured ; after a few Days he left her abruptly, and returned home to his Father, to whom without the least Reserve, he related the whole Series of his Adventures, and the unlucky Event, by which they were closed. The Father was a Man in mighty good Circumstances, valued Riches much more than the finest Qualities of the Mind : He was therefore extreamly chagrin'd at this Story of his Sons, and absolutely disapproved the Match he had made. But how to avoid it was the Difficulty, the old Gentleman told his Son there was but only one Way left, and that if he would regain his Favour, he must take it immediately : The young Gentleman was all Obedience, and in pursuance of his Parents Directions entered into Holy Orders, and was actually ordained a Priest, so that now it was impossible for him to perform his Contract, which they conceived would effectually discharge it.

RENEE CORBEAU heard this News with the utmost Grief, nor was it possible for her to dissemble the Anger she had conceived against her Lover, for committing so black an Act of Perfidy ; it is very possible however, that her Wrath would have vented itself in Complaints, and all her Threatnings evaporate in Words. But her Father being as much provoked, and having less Tenderness, immediately accused him before the Magistrate for a *Rape of Seduction*, and on Hearing the Cause he was found guilty. However, he appealed from this Judgment to the Parliament of *Paris*,

and so the Cause was moved to the *Tournelle*, where Monsieur *de Villeroy* at that Time presided. On the hearing all Parties, the Behaviour of this young Gentleman appeared so gross, and capable of so little Alleviation, that the Court directed, that he should either marry the Woman or suffer Death. The first was impossible ; because he had taken Orders. The Court being informed of this looked upon it as an utter Rejection of the first Part of the Alternative, and therefore directed, that he should be led to Execution. Accordingly he was put into the Hands of the Executioner, and the Confessor drew near, who was to assist him in his last Moments. Then it was, that *Renee Corbeau* found her Heart pierced with the most exquisite Affliction, which was still heightened when she saw the pomp of Justice about to take Place, and her Lover on the Point of setting out to die.

FURIOUS through Dispair, and guided only by her Passion, she pushed with such Impetuosity through the Croud, that she got into the inner Chamber before the Judges were separated, and then her Face bathed in Tears and all in Disorder, as she was, addressed them exactly in the following Terms. “ Behold my Lords, the
 “ most unfortunate Lover that ever appeared be-
 “ fore the Face of Justice ; in condemning him
 “ I love, you seem to suppose that either I am
 “ not guilty of any thing, or that at least, my
 “ Crime is capable of Excuse, and yet you adjudge
 “ me to Death, which must befall me with the
 “ same Stroke that takes away my Lover ; you
 “ subject me to the most grievous Destiny for the
 “ Infamy

“ Infamy of my Lover’s Death will fall upon me,
 “ and I shall go to my Grave more dishonoured
 “ than he.

“ Y o u desire to repair the Injury done to my
 “ Honour, and the Remedy you bring will load
 “ me with eternal Shame ; so that at the same
 “ Time, you own it as your Opinion, that I am
 “ rather unhappy than Criminal, you are pleased
 “ to punish me with the most severe, and most
 “ intolerable Pains. How agrees your Treatment
 “ of me with your Equity, and with the Rules
 “ of that humane Justice, which should direct
 “ your Court ; you cannot be ignorant of the
 “ Hardship I sustain ; for you, were Men before
 “ you were Judges, you must have been sensible
 “ of the Power of Love, and you cannot but
 “ have some Idea of the Torment which must be
 “ felt in a Breast, where the Remembrance dwells
 “ of having caused the Death, the infamous
 “ Death, of the dear Object of her Love, can
 “ there be a Punishment equal to this, or after it,
 “ could Death be considered in another Light,
 “ than as the highest Blessing of Heaven.

“ S T A Y O ! stay my Lords ! I am going to
 “ open your Eyes, I am going to acknowledge
 “ my Fault, to reveal my secret Crime, which
 “ hitherto I have concealed, that if possible the
 “ Marriage of my Lover might have restored my
 “ blasted Honour. But urged now by remorse of
 “ Conscience, I am constrained to confess that I
 “ seduced him. Yes, my Lords, I loved first ! It
 “ was I, that to gratify the Rage of my Passion,
 “ informed him of my Flame, and thus I made
 C 4 “ myself

“ myself the Instrument of my own Dishonour.
 “ Change then, my Lords, the Sentiments you
 “ have hitherto entertained of this Affair; look
 “ upon me as the Seducer; on my Lover, as the
 “ Person injured, punish me, save him, if Ju-
 “ stice is inexorable, and there is a Necessity for
 “ some Victim, let it be me.

“ You look upon it as a Crime, that he took
 “ holy Orders, and thereby render’d it impossible
 “ for him to comply with his Contract, but this
 “ was not his own Act, it was the Act of a
 “ barbarous Father, whose tyrannous Commands
 “ he could not resist; a Will in Subjection (my
 “ Lords) is no Will at all to deserve Punishment,
 “ the Offender must be free, his Father could on-
 “ ly be guilty here, and were he not the Father
 “ of my Love, I would demand Justice of you
 “ on Him. Is it not clear then, my Lords, that
 “ your last Sentence contradicts your first; you
 “ decreed that he should have his Choice to marry
 “ me, or to die, and yet you never put the first
 “ into his Power, how odious must I appear in
 “ your Eyes, when you chuse rather to put a Man
 “ to Death, than to allow him to marry me.

“ But he has declared that his present Con-
 “ dition will not allow him to marry, and in
 “ Consequence of this Declaration you have con-
 “ demned him to Death; but what signifies that De-
 “ claration, his meaning was, that he would have
 “ marry’d me if he could, and if so, your Sen-
 “ tence is unjust; for by your former Decree, he
 “ was to have his Option; but you will say, a
 “ Priest can’t Marry. Ah! my Lords, Love has
 “ taught

“ taught me better, Love brings Things instantly
“ to our Minds, that may be of Service to the
“ Object of our Loves ; the Pope, my Lords,
“ can dispense with his Vow, you cannot be ig-
“ norant of this, and therefore his Choice may be
“ yet in his Power. We expect every Moment
“ the Legate of his Holiness, he has all the Ple-
“ nititude of Power delegated to him, which is in
“ the Sovereign Pontiff, I will sollicite him for
“ this Dispensation, and my Passion tells me, that
“ I shall not plead in vain ; for what Obstacle
“ will it not be able to surmount, when it has
“ overcome that of your Decree. Have Pity
“ then, my Lords ! Have Pity on two unfortu-
“ nate Lovers, mitigate your Sentence, or at
“ least suspend it ’till I have Time to sollicite the
“ Legate for such a Dispensation. You look on
“ my Lover, ’tis true, as a Man guilty of a great
“ Crime ; but what Crime too great to be expia-
“ ted by the Horrors he has already sustained, has
“ he not felt a thousand Times the Pains of Death
“ since the pronouncing his Sentence ; besides,
“ could you enter into my Breast, and conceive
“ at all what Torments I have endured, you
“ would think our Fault, foul as it is, fully purged
“ away. I see among your Lordships, some who
“ are young, and some who are advanced in Years ;
“ the first cannot sure have their Breasts already
“ steel’d against the Emotions of a Passion natu-
“ ral to their Sex ; and I may hope the latter have
“ not forgot the tender Sentiments of their junior
“ Years, from both them I have a Right to Pity ;
“ and if the Voices for me are few, let the Hu-
“ manity of their Sentiments prevail against the
“ Number of their Opponents ; but if all I have

“ said is vain, at least afford me the melancholly
 “ Pleasure of sharing his Punishment, as I shared
 “ his Crime. In this, my Lords, be strictly
 “ just, and as we have lived, let us die together.”

THIS amiable Woman was heard with equal Silence and Compassion, there was not a Word lost of her Discourse, which she pronounced with a Voice so clear, so musical, and with a Tone so expressive of her Affliction, that it struck through the Ears of the Judges to their Hearts. Her Beauty, her Tears, her Eloquence, had Charms too powerful not to incline to persuade to compel the most frozen Hearts to think with Her. The Judges receded unanimously from their Opinions; Monsieur *de Villeroy*, having collected their Sentiments, and declared that he agreed with them, proceeded to suspend the last Edict, and to allow the Criminal Six Months to apply for a Dispensation.

THE Legate immediately after entered *France*, it was the great Cardinal *de Medicis*, afterwards Pope, by the Name of *Clement* the Eleventh, though he enjoyed the Chair not quite a Month. He heard the whole of this Affair, and enquired narrowly into all its Circumstances, and finding that he took holy Orders with a premeditated Design to avoid the Performance of his Contract; he declared that he was unworthy of a Dispensation, and that he would not respite such a Wretch from the Death he deserved.

RENEE

RENEE CORBEAU had a Passion too strong to be quelled, she threw herself at the Feet of the King; I need only inform my Readers, that this Prince was *Henry* the Fourth, and they will immediately surmise, that Beauty, Wit, and Tenderneſs, would have a proper Effect upon him. The King heard her with Attention, answered her with Tenderneſs, and going to the Legate in Perſon, requested the Diſpenſation in ſuch Terms, that it could not be reſuſed. He had the Goodneſs to deliver it to the Lady with his own Hands, the Criminal gladly accepted *Renee* for his Wife, they were publickly Married, lived long together in the happieſt Union. He always regarding his Wife as a kind of Divinity, by whoſe Interpoſition his Life and his Honour had been ſaved. Say Readers, is not this One of the greateſt Wonders that Love ever wrought?





C A S E III.

Of a Child claimed by two Persons, each affirming herself to be its Mother ; or the celebrated History of the Count of St. Geran, who was stolen from his Parents at his Birth, brought up in their House out of Charity, after that became their Page, and finally was proved to be their Son.



N all the Records extant of *judicial Proceedings in France*, or elsewhere, there cannot occur a Case more Romantick, and more out of the common Road, and yet at the same Time more strictly true in every Circumstance, than this, which I am about to give my Readers. To have abridged it in such a Manner, as to have furnished out a *Title*, would have palled the Curiosity of an intelligent Peruser, and therefore I passed it by ; as for the same Reason I shall avoid lengthening this Introduction, that I may come immediately to Matter of Fact.

THE *Marechall de Saint Geran*, of the House of *Guiche*, married for his first Wife *Anne de Tournon*, by whom he had *Claude de la Guiche*, and a Daughter, who married the *Marquiss de Bouille* ; his second Wife was *Susanna Epaulles*, to whom he was also a second Husband, she having been before married to the Count of *Longaunay*, by whom she had a Daughter, called *Susanna de Longaunay*.

THE

THE *Marechall* and his *Lady* made a *Second* Marriage in their *Families*, in order to unite them the more firmly. *Claude de la Guiche* espoused *Susanna de Lougaunay*, the Contract passed at *Rouen*, the 17th of *February* 1619. The young Gentleman was then about *Eighteen* Years old, and the young Lady between *Thirteen* and *Fourteen*; the Youth of the Husband occasioned his being sent to make the Tour of *Italy*, which it was supposed he could not compleat in less than *two* Years.

THE *Marechall* died on 30th of *December*, 1632, having the Mortification to leave his Son *Childless*. On his Father's Demise, however, he had the Government of *Bourbounois* (which the *Marechal* had enjoyed) bestowed upon him, and was likewise made *Knight* of the *King's Orders*. More than *twenty* Years his *Countess* sighed in vain to be a *Mother*; she made several pious Pilgrimages, she consulted numberless Physicians, and had Recourse to all the Remedies which are usually prescribed in such Cases. In 1640, about the End of the Month of *November*, she left *Moulins* to go to *Paris*; she no sooner arrived there, than she perceived all the Symptoms of *Pregnancy*, the Faintings, the Distasts, the Nauseas, the Wearinesses, which are usual with Women in that Condition. She supported however, with great Patience, these Accidents which were the Testimonies of her Fecundity, following in all Things the Opinion of her *Mother* the *Marchiaellefs*.

HER

H E R being with Child was Matter of the utmost Joy to the Inhabitants of her Husband's Government, and was in an especial Manner pleasing to such as were allied to the *Count de St. Geran* in Blood, or were otherwise attached to him by Dependance or Inclination; so that the Thing made a great Noise, and nothing was more publickly talk'd of.

I N the *seventh* Month of her Pregnancy, the *Countess* had the Misfortune to fall, Physicians and Surgeons were called in for their Assistance, and all imaginable Precautions were taken to prevent this Accident from having any fatal Effects. More than *twenty* Ladies of Quality, who made her Visits on this Occasion, were made sensible, by laying their Hands upon her Belly, that the Child actually stirred; nay, the more to gratify the Mother, she was informed that certain Persons, famous for predicting future Events, had declared that this *first* Child of hers would be a *Son*; by Degrees the last Signs of *Pregnancy* appeared, and her approaching *Deliverance* was look'd on as a Thing put out of Dispute. The *Count*, during the last *two* Months, kept a *Physician* and a *Midwife* in the House. He wrote all these Circumstances to the *Marcheless*, his *Mother-in-Law*, entreating her to come and give a Name to his *Child*, which was now hourly expected.

T H E *Marchellefs* who was overcome with Joy, after having Orders for the providing such Things as she thought fit to *present* the *Child*, she went to attend her *Daughter* in the *Castle* of *St. Geran*,
then

then she had the Pleasure of feeling with her Hand her *Daughter's Child* move within her; and to be thoroughly assured that her Time was near, *Nurses* were got with all speed into the House, and every Thing put into the best Order imaginable, in Respect both to *Mother* and *Child*. But all these Preparations were render'd useless, by the villainous Intrigues of *two* Persons, acting from the most barbarous, and most criminal Views, who laid their Plots so well, and carried on their Measures so closely, that they disappointed and deceived the *Father*, the *Mother*, the *Grand-Mother*, and all the other *Relations* and *Friends* of this illustrious Family.

THE *Marchioness* of *Bouille*, Sister to the *Count*, and the *Marquiss de St. Maixant*, their *Relation*, were the Perpetrators of this horrid *Affair*. The *Marquiss* being accused of making false Money, of *Magick*, of *Incest*, and of causing his *Wife* to be strangled, in order that he might marry another *Woman*, whose *Husband* he intended to *Murder*, had made his Escape out of the Hands of the *Provost* of the *Marshalsea* of *Auvergne*, and took Refuge in the *Castle* of *St. Geran*, where the *Count* received him very kindly.

SOME short Time after the *Marchioness* of *Bouille* came thither, who had procured a *Divorce* from her *Husband*, a Man of *Seventy*, on her suggesting abundance of Injuries done to her, though most People imagined, that her *Husband's Age* was the true Cause of her suing for a *Seperation*. The *Marquiss* was a very handsome Man, the *Marchioness* a little whimsical; they were young,
they

they soon took a Liking to each other, they were allowed to converse in private, and frequently passed their Evenings in the *Park*, without having with them any other Companion than *Love*.

THE *Marchioness*, as she was the presumptive Heiress of her *Brother*, the *Count* of *St. Geran*, saw with Concern the *Pregnancy* of the *Countess*, which would put a Period to her *Hopes*, the amorous *Marquis* formed a Design of uniting his Interest with those of this *Lady*, to which she consented. The *Marchioness* and He too looked upon the *Death* of her *Husband* of *Seventy* Years old, as a Thing that would happen very soon; and he was the more certain of this, because if Nature should have been induced to grant that *Gentleman* a longer *Life*, he had a *Secret* that would put it out of her *Power*.

THEY determined therefore to defeat the Expectations of the Family, by removing the *Child*, which was about to be *born*, into it. A *Crime* like this was easily engaged in, by a *Person* like the *Marquis*, whose *Hands* had been already dipped in *Offences* of the most heinous Nature; the *Lady* too suffered the Softness of her Sex, and the Tenderness she ought to have had for her *Brother*, to be overcome by the *Affection* she had conceived for this wicked *Man*; in short, the *Simpathy* of their *Hearts* created a like *Simpathy* in their *Consciences*, and they went about a Fact the most terrible, and the most shocking, with all the Coolness and Address imaginable.

By Dint of *Presents*, they corrupted *Baulieu*, the *Count's Major Domo*, *Louisa Goillard*, the *Midwife*, and the two *Women* of the *Bed-Chamber* to the *Marchioness*. They fancied the Thing might be easily done, and pleased themselves with the *Salaries* which were to be allowed them; from the Moment this fine *Piece of Work* was accomplished. As mean and venal Souls are without much Difficulty, seduced into Conspiracies of the most horrid Natures, so when ever they are entered into them, nothing is more common for them to persist in them, with the utmost *Obstinacy*, and to manage them with the utmost *Cunning*; for as the *Gospel* says, the *Children of Darknes* are wiser in their Generation, than the *Children of Light*.

ON the 16th of *August*, 1641. The *Countess* of *St. Geran* was surprized with *Labour-Pains*, in the *Chapel* of the *Castle*, while she assisted at *Mass*, she was carried to her Chamber immediately, the *Marchellefs* put on her *Head-clothes* with her own Hands, which is a Ceromony never omitted on such Occasions; because the *Head-clothes* of *Lying-in Women*, are not taken off for a long Time. The Childs Clothes were brought into the Room, the Nurse and the Servants were directed to be ready when they were called, and the Lady was expected to be brought to Bed every Moment. The Pains however, were so long and so fierce, that it was much doubted whether she could get over them; but her Constancy was destined to support these, and much stronger Shocks. In order that a *Delivery* of such Consequences as this, might

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might have proper *Witnesses*, most of this illustrious Family were called into the Room, viz. the two Daughters of the *Marechallefs* by the *second Husband*, of which *one* when aged about *sixteen* Years, married afterwards the Duke *de Ventadour* ; the Lady *de Saligni*, Sister to the *Mareschal de St. Geran*, the Count *de St. Geran*, the Marquiss *de St. Maixant*, and the Marchioness *de Bouille*. Had it been possible to scrutinize the Hearts of this Assembly, it would have been found, that the Thoughts of the two latter differed widely from those of the rest.

THE *Marchioness* taking Occasion from the Warmth of the Weather, observed, that all this Company must of Necessity very much incommode a Person in the *Countesses* weak Condition ; putting on therefore a Look of Authority, with a counterfeit Air of Tenderness, she desired that all who were not able to do any Good, might retire out of the Room, and that no Body might take Offence, she proposed that the *Marechallefs* should lead them. She did so, and every Body followed her even to the Count *de St. Geran* himself, there was no Body left but the *Marchioness*, the two *Quinettes* the *Countesses* two Women, and the two young Ladies, whom they soon found Means to send out of the Way, which was the easier, because the eldest of them was not above Fifteen, and therefore it was not very consistent with their Modesty, to be Spectators of a Labour. The *Countess* was now wholly in the Hands of the Conspirators, who immediately began to take the Measures that they had concerted. It was about Seven in the Evening, and the *Countess* had for a very long Time, endured the sharpest Pains imaginable ;

ginable ; the Midwife therefore told her, that there was no Hopes of her being happily delivered, unless they could procure her some Repose, in order to recruit her Strength, in Consequence of which Proposition, they engaged the Lady to take a certain Potion, which threw her into a profound Sleep, which lasted till the next Day.

DURING all this Time, the Count *de St. Geran*, the *Marechallefs*, and all who longed to see the Labour over, sent every Moment to the Door, to enquire how Things went, the Persons within, to avoid all Suspicion, gave them to understand, that every Thing went well, and that in all Probability their Vows were heard. They refused to let in several of the Servants; but as for the *Marquiss de St. Maixant*, he ran to and fro all Night, whispering at the Chamber Door to the Midwife, and to the *Marchioness de Bouille*, shewing all that Hurry and Confusion, which is natural to People transacting Things of this Sort. At last the *Countess* was brought to Bed of a Boy in her Sleep, without having the least Knowledge thereof, and without making the smallest Noise. That poor Child at the very Instant of its Birth, fell into the Hands of his Enemies, and neither its Tears nor its Cries could awaken its Mother, to endeavour its Preservation. They carried it immediately into the Chamber of *Major Domo*, who entered also at that very Instant, the Midwife tied the Naval-string, and the next Moment attempted to take away its Life. She even twisted its Neck before the Persons I just now mentioned, could snatch him out of her Hands, and the
poor

poor Child carried the Marks of this Murtherer's Hands to the Day of his Death.

IT is uncertain to whom the Preservation of this poor Boy was owing, it may be the *Marchioness de Bouille*, could not bring herself up to the committing so horrid a Crime, or perhaps the *Major Domo* had his Orders from the *Marquiss de St. Maixant*, to prevent its being murdered. There is Reason to apprehend, that this *Marquiss* doubting whether the Lady would perform her Promise of Marriage to him as soon as her Husband was dead, resolved to keep the Child alive, that he might have it constantly in his Power, to compel her to act as he thought fit, through the Fear of having all Things discovered. However it was, *Baulieu* having put the Child into a little Basket, hid it under his Coat, and so carried it out of his Chamber, without being perceived. He went then to the *Marquiss*, and having settled with him what was to be done, he slipped out of a Door, which opened into the *Castle-Ditch*, from whence he clambered up to a Terrace, and crossing a Bridge, got at last into the Park, which had twelve Gates, the Keys of them being in his Pocket, then he mounted his Horse, which for that Purpose had been left ready Bridled and Sadled, and rode as fast as he could to the Village of *Echerolles*, about a League from *St. Geran* where he stopped, till a wet Nurse one *Claudia Gautier*, had given the Child Suck; as *Baulieu* durst not stay long in a Place so near Home, he crossed the River at *Port de la Chaise*, and came to the House of one *Bocaud*, whose Wife he got to suckle the Child again, then he pursued his Journey through *Auvergne*.

vergne. The Heat being excessive, and the Road very dry, the Horse's Feet were sadly battered, and the Child much incommoded, when *Baulieu* overtook by Chance a *Waggoner* on the Road, whose Name was *Paul Bithion*, of the Town of *Agueperce*, who was going to *Riom*, with him he made an Agreement, to let him ride in his Vehicle with the Child, accordingly up he got into it, with the Boy in his Arms, and his Horse was tyed behind it; as he travelled, he told the *Waggoner* amongst other Things, that he would not take all this Trouble and Plague with so young an Infant, if it had not belonged to one of the first Families in *Bourbonnois*. About Noon they came to the Village *Che*, where they baited, and while they remained there, the Woman of the House at which they stopped suckled the Child again. As the poor Infant was in a very weak Condition, he ordered some Water to be heated, and washed it all over. The *Waggoner* having brought him pretty near *Riom*, he got out of the Carriage, and having told the poor Fellow a false Place where he would meet him again, went quite another Way; passing by the Abbey *de la Voine*, he arrived in the Village of *Descoutoux*, which is on the Side of the Mountains by *Theres* and *la Voine*, where the *Marchioness de Bouille* had a Castle, to which she sometimes retired. The Child was there taken Care of, by *Gabrielle de Mainiot*, to whom *Baulieu* gave a Months Wages in Advance, she had not kept it above seven or eight Days, but the Man refusing to inform her who was its Father or Mother, or where she was to go to give an Account of her Charge, determined her to part with it; but inasmuch as no Nurse could afterwards be found in
that

that Neighbourhood, who would take an Infant on such Terms, it was by him resolved to quit the Village of *Descoutoux*, those with whom he travelled, took the grand Road towards *Burgundy*; but in passing through a great Wood, they had the Misfortune to lose their Way.

IT is very possible the *Reader* may surmise, that great Part of these Circumstances might have been omitted, and indeed, if one were to judge of this by other Histories so they might; but inasmuch as the subsequent Proofs depend altogether upon the several Steps taken in this Journey, and were reported by all the Persons mentioned therein, it was fit to give a distinct Account of this Business here, before we return to the Account of the *Mother* of this *unfortunate Child*.

SHE waked about *break* of *Day*, found herself very faint and weak, to the *last Degree*, and entirely free from the *Burden* she had *carried*. These were Signs which left her no Room to doubt her being *brought* to *Bed*. The *first Words* therefore that she uttered, was to demand, *What* was *become* of her *Child*? They assured her that she was *brought* to *Bed* of *none*, and she as positively affirmed the contrary; as she was very uneasy, the *Midwife* thought fit to tell her, that she might be assured, the *Day* would not pass before she was brought to *Bed*, and by all the *Symptoms* she had perceived in the *Night*, that she would bring forth a *Son*. This *Promise* quieted the *Count*, and the *Marechallefs*; but did not at all satisfy the *Countess*, who could never be brought to think, but that the *Business* was over.

THE

THE next Day her *Face* bathed in *Tears*, and with the most dismal *Cries*, she beseeched them to *produce* her *Child*, for that it was impossible to impose upon her, or persuade her, that she had not been *brought to Bed*. The *Midwife* pretended that the *New-Moon* hindered her being presently *Delivered*, and that there was a *Necessity* for waiting its *decline*, and then she would be easily *brought to Bed*, as all Things were now in a right Way. The *Steadiness* with which the *Countess* persisted, that she had been already *Delivered*, would have drawn every Body to her Side, if the *Marechale's* her *Mother*, had not said, that she once knew a *Woman*, who at the End of *nine Months*, had all the *Tokens* of an approaching *Labour*, and yet was not *brought to Bed* in *six Weeks*. This *Tale* turn'd the *Tables*, the *Marquis* de St. *Maixant* and the *Marchioness* de *Bouille*, supported it with all their *Eloquence*, and left nothing unsaid to persuade the *Countess* to be *quiet*. But it was all to no Purpose, she would not be brought to *yield* in the *least*. The *Midwife* perceiving now, that it was a Thing impossible to move her from her *Sentiments*, resolved to make all Things easy by her *Death*, in which she intended to involve her best Friends and nearest Relations, by intimating to them, that unless her *Ladyship* could be persuaded to take some *violent Exercise* her *Child* would be *lost*. The *Countess* herself declared it was to no Purpose to put such Things into her Head, and would not hear of doing any thing of that Sort; at last however, the *Tears* and *Intreaties* of her *Mother* and her *Husband* prevailed, and being put into a *Chariot*, they drove her up and down the

worst

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worst Roads that could be picked out, so that if her Constitution had not been prodigiously strong, she had certainly been killed by this terrible Treatment. After this *cruel Expedition*, they carried her back to Bed, so weak that she was hardly able to *Gasp*, tho' when she came a little to herself, she had the Mortification, to see that no Body gave into her Way of thinking, upon which resigning herself entirely into the *Disposition of Providence*, she confined her Doubts and her Afflictions entirely to her own *Breast*. As there was no Body had the least Apprehension that the *People* near the *Countess* could be guilty of such a *Crime* as they had really perpetrated; after *six Weeks* had passed over, they made no Difficulty of believing this was a *false Conception*, and that the *Countess* having a strong Imagination, imposed *first* upon *herself*, and then upon every Body round her. To give *Credit* to this *Notion*, several *Stories* were spread through the *House*, of Women who many Months had been *big*, and had been found not to have been with *Child* at last. For my Part, I am at a Loss, to conceive how her Relations could shut their Eyes, against the Proofs the *Countess* offered, to evince that she had been *brought to Bed*. The *Milk* in her *Breast*, the *subsiding* of her great *Belly*, the vast *Discharge* of *Blood*, were certain Signs of her having been in *Labour*. But it may be, the cunning *Midwife* gave her *Medicines* to repel her *Milk*, and no doubt made Use of a hundred Inventions, to account for the other Accidents, and to colour her own monstrous Behavior.

TIME

TIME, which quiets even the most piercing *Griefs*, appeared in some Measure, the *Sorrows* of the *Countess*; her Affliction receded to the inmost corners of her Heart, and only broke out now and then by short abrupt Expressions, till after several Years it seemed to be altogether exhausted; until the Discovery of certain Facts, revived her Apprehensions, and put this much injured Lady upon re-considering every Thing which had happened.

IT is Time now, that I should give you an Account what became of the Child, after it was carried away from the Village of *Descoutoux*. *Baulieu* it seems had a Brother at *Paris*, a *Fencing-Master* by Profession, of whose Death (in a very indigent Condition) he had received Advice a little before from his Widow *Mary Pigoreau*, the Daughter of a *Player*, whom he had left in Circumstances narrow enough. To this Woman *Baulieu* committed the Child, which Charge she accepted very readily, on his promising to remit her *two thousand Livres* a Year, for defraying the Expence, by the Hands of one *Ragunet*, a *Grocer* at *Paris*.

As they had hitherto deferred Baptizing the Child, for fear of discovering its *Parents*, and the Manner in which it had been taken away. *Mary Pigoreau* found a way to get over this Difficulty, and to procure it Christian *Baptism*, without running any Hazard. She carried it to the Parish Church of *St. John en Greve*, and there she got a *Grave-Digger* of the *Parish*, and a poor Woman who

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received Charity, to be its *Sureties*, she herself remaining in the *Confessional* till the *Ceromonies* were over ; and then she gave *ten Pence* to the *Godfather*, who had bestowed on the *Child*, the Name of *Bernard*.

The *Entry* in the *Parish Register* stood thus ;

THE 7th Day of March 1644 ; was Baptized here, Bernard the Son of
the Godfather Maur. Marmicon,
Servant to this Church, and the Godmother Jane
Chevalier Widow of Peter Thibou.

Mrs. *Pigarcou* took all the Pains imaginable, to educate this unhappy Infant, she provided very rich Things for it and put it to Nurse, in the Village of *Torcy* near *Brie*, to a Woman whose Husband's Name was *Paillard*, telling her that it was a *Child* of *Quality*, and that her Fortune would be made if it did well. The young *Count* however, did not stay long with this Nurse, for happening to fall Sick, in a short Time after his coming to her. Mrs. *Pigoreau* removed him to the House of a *Widow* in the same Village, whose deceased Husband's Name was *Mark Seguin* ; there the *Child* was treated as an Infant of *Quality*, and the Woman's monthly *Wages* paid with the utmost Exactness. *Bauleau* visited it frequently, till being a *Year* and a *half* Old, his *Sister-in-law* took it from Nurse and kept it at *Home* at her own *House*.

S H E

SHE had by her deceased Husband *two* Sons, the eldest was named *Anthony*, and the youngest was called *Henry*; who if he had lived, would have been *three* years *older* than the *Count*; for he was born on the *9th* of *August* 1639, after the Death of his *Father*, who was killed in the Month of *June*, the same Year. This *Child* died a little after it was *born*. Mrs. *Pigoreau* thought fit to give the Name and Condition of this her *second* Son to the *little Count*, and by this Artifice the last Seal was put to the hiding the young *St. Gerard* from all his Relations. For the better carrying on of this Design, she removed out of the *Quarter* of the Town in which she then lived, for People of this Sort, have a great Advantage at *Paris*, inasmuch as by quitting their Lodgings and going into another Part of the City, they effectually damp all Enquiries, and may if they please, put on quite another Manner of living in their new Habitation, from that which they used in the Place where they dwelt before.

WHEN the Child was *two* Years and a *half* old, Mrs. *Pigoreau* thought fit to discharge herself of her Care of him; *first*, because she had undertaken to look after him only till he arrived at that Age, and *next* because the *Grocer* stopt her Remittances, and absolutely refused to pay any thing more on his Account. She therefore carried the Boy to *Baulieu*, as to his *Uncle* and *God-father* and intreated him to take Care of it; because her Circumstances were so narrow, that it was no longer in her Power to keep it.

BAULIEU took the Child, and desired Leave of the *Count* and *Countess* that he might be bred up in the *Castle* of *St. Geran*, at first they were very much against it, putting their *Steward* in Mind, that as he had already *five* Children, it was an unreasonable Thing for him to Burthen himself with the providing for his *Nephew*; but at last, the Influence he had over them prevail'd, and on his earnest Desire it was allow'd, that the *Child* should be brought into the House, notwithstanding *Baulieu's Wife* was very much against it, and looked upon this Addition to her Family as an Injury to her and her *Children*. It happened, just as the Child came, that the *Countess* was setting out for *Moulins*; but hearing it was arrived, she directed it should be put into the *Coach* with her *Maids*; however she would see it, and no sooner was it brought to her, than she cry'd out, *What a pretty Creature it is! What fine blue Eyes! What a large open Forehead! What a Complexion! What Features! It shall go in the Coach with me.*

THOUGH the *Count* and *Countess* were thoroughly persuaded that this Child was the *Nephew* of *Baulieu*, yet they loved it as their own, it sat usually upon the *Countess's Knee*, and that *Lady* never caressed it, but she felt so extraordinary an Emotion, that she could not tell how to account for it; it brought sometimes into her Memory the unhappy Accident which had befallen her, and she could not avoid now and then embracing it with *Tears*, and bursting out into these Expressions: *Had I been so happy to have conserved that Child, which I fancied I brought into the World, it would have*

have been about this Age, perhaps it would not have been less handsome ; but why do I fatigue myself with such Reflections, they are vain, I must be miserable, and it is a great Fault in me, by permitting such Thoughts as these, to increase the Sorrows that I feel. But after all these wise Resolutions, neither she nor the Count could avoid feeling the Anguish of Parents whenever the little Creature came to play about them, Nature had placed in their Souls the secret *Simpathy* they felt, without knowing it, and nothing could efface the *Sentiments* created thereby.

IN the mean Time the *Marquiss St. Maixaut*, and the *Marchioness de Bouille*, were Eye-witnesses of all that passed, and could not help beholding it with Regret, they were out of all Patience, when they saw the young Count embraced by his *Father* and his *Mother*, and could not help trembling, lest a Discovery should be made of their horrid Proceedings, in Respect of this injured Boy, and these Terrors were hourly increased by the Behaviour of *Baulieu*.

THAT unhappy Man felt the strongest Remorse, when he beheld these Testimonies of Tenderness which were given by his *Lord* and *Lady* to him, he called his *Nephew*, his Disorder was even visible on such Occasions, and he could not help letting fall certain dark Expressions, which he did not apprehend to be of any Consequence to him ; because he imagin'd Time had spread an inscrutable Veil over the Wickedness, in which he had been concerned ; besides, as he knew he had the the *Life* and *Honour* of the *Marchioness de la Bouille* in his

Hands, as well as that of the *Marquiss* of *St. Maixant*, he fear'd nothing from either of them. He therefore did not stick to say in the Family, that as fond as the Count and Countess were of his Nephew, they would be still fonder of him if they knew all; nay, his Conscience troubled him so much, that he propos'd this Case to a *Devine*.

WHAT if a Man has been concerned in concealing a Child from it's Parents, and has never discharged his Conscience, by owning it to them, can he set this right by barely putting the Child into their Hands, without such a Declaration?

WHAT Answer he received from the Person, to whom he put this Case, is not known; but certain it is, that it did not quiet his Conscience, for a little after he could not help saying to a *Clergyman* of *Moulins*, who congratulated him on his Lord and Lady's having such an Affection for his Nephew; *That they might well love the Child, considering how near it was to them.*

THESE Sayings of his, as they were full of Truth, so they struck the *Marquiss* and *Marchioness* with such Frights, that taking it for granted the *Major Domo* would not long keep their Secret, they resolv'd to provide against any Slip of his, by putting him out of the way. Accordingly they had no sooner settled this Expedient, than they put it in Execution, by giving him a slow Poison, which operated effectually on his *Vitals*. When this wretched Man found Death approaching, he at last took a Resolution to discover all. In order to this he told those about him, that he had a strong Desire to

to speak to the *Count* and *Countess*, his good Lord and Lady, in order humbly to ask their Pardon for a very great Wrong which he had done them. Those, to whom he made this Declaration, were honest enough to carry what he said to the *Count* and *Countess*; but such was their Goodness, and so little Notion had they of the Nature of that *Crime*, which he had committed against them, that supposing it to be some *pecuniary* Business, and that he had been guilty of some wrong Things in his *Accompts*, they resolving not to increase his Malady, by putting him upon any farther Explication, sent him their Pardon, and desired him to make himself easy. A little Time after he *died*, which Accident produced in them some Regret, that they had not enquir'd farther into this Mystery, which on Reflection awaken'd in them many Doubts and Surmises about they knew not what. *Baulieu's* Death happened in 1648.

HENCE forward the Tenderneſs of the *Father* and *Mother* of the unfortunate little *Count* grew ſtronger, and gathered more Force, they took Care to give him the Education of a *Youth of Quality*, and were at the utmoſt Pains to form his Genius, and give a right Turn to that Livelineſs of Spirit, which diſtinguiſhed him from Children of his own Age. When he was *Seven* Years old they put him into Breeches, and beſtowed on him a *Page's Livery*, in which Quality he continued to ſerve them until the Mystery of his Birth broke out.

IT has been often obſerved, and I am apt to believe, that it is an Obſervation that will be generally found true, that before a terrible Truth

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comes to Light, there are certain murmuring Whispers fly before it, and prepare the Minds of Men for the Reception of the Truth itself. Such were the Stories, which run about the Province of a Conspiracy, by which the *Countess's Child* had been hid from her, which at last reached the Ears of the *Count* and *Countess*, and put them upon examining and sifting this Thing to the Bottom, and on recollecting and drawing together every Circumstance which might afford them Light.

THE *Count* happening to *drink* the *Waters* of *Vichi*, and the *Countess* being with him, she one Day entered by chance into the Drawing-Room, where the *Marchioness de Bouille*, and her old *Midwife*, who lived in that City, were in close Conversation together. The *Countess* interrupted them, and asked them pretty shortly what they were talking of. The *Marchioness* was so much surprized with the Question, that she could not help answering, *Mrs. Louisa here is a little disturbed, because she thinks my Brother will not look kindly upon her. For what Reason, Madam* (said the *Countess*, speaking to the *Midwife*) *have you any Apprehensions that, my Husband would not afford you a good Reception?* The Woman replied, catching hold of her Words, *I am afraid, Madam, he took some Distaste at me for what passed at the Time we thought you would Lie-in.* The Obscurity of these Words not only discomposed the poor Lady, but struck even the *Marchioness* and the *Midwife* themselves so powerfully, that they appeared in the highest Disorder. The *Countess*, however she might be touched at the Heart, put on as much Indifference as she was able, and notwithstanding
what

what had been dropped concerned her so nearly, she thought fit to let the Discourse fall, and press no farther upon either of them at that Time.

THE first Resolution which came into the *Countess's* Head, on this odd Accident, was to take up the *Midwife*, in order to discover what Hand she had in the Matter; but reflecting how many Years had passed since the Transaction of this black Affair, she determined in herself rather to wait for farther Lights, than to hazard the Loss of the whole Discovery, by making too sudden a Noise. As for the *Marchioness de Bouille*, she was so much stung with the Sense of her *Sister-in-Law's* suspecting her, and her Conscience every Day made her so uneasy, while she had before her Eyes the lively Testimonies, as well as the wicked Accomplices of her Crimes, that she resolved to quit the House, which accordingly she did, and retiring to her own Castle at *Lavoine*, never disturbed the Family more.

WHEN the *Marchioness* was gone, the *Count* and *Countess* thought fit to send for the *Marechal-les*, their Mother to her; they communicated, as clearly as they were able, the dark and doubtful Situation their Affairs were in. By her Advice they sent for the *Midwife*, and without suffering any Thing to take Air, caused her to be brought to *St. Geran*. When she was come thither they asked her abundance of Questions, in order to sift her, and if it were possible to discover the Truth. The Woman was in such a Consternation, that she talked Nonsense, and contradicted herself in almost every Thing she said; in a Word, she augment-

ed their Suspicions without detecting any Thing, and let fall so many odd Expressions, that they determined to put her into the Hands of *Justice*, in order to come at the Truth of Things. They dismissed her, however, in such a Manner, as gave her no Ground to suspect their Intentions, the *Count* and *Countess* behaving towards her in such a Way, that she could not guess at the true Motive of their sending for her, and questioning her.

A small Time after the *Count* and *Countess* prefer'd a *Bill of Complaint* before the *Vice Seneschall* of *Moulins*, who thereupon caused the *Midwife* to be apprehended, and brought before him. On her Examination she confess'd the Truth, as to the *Countess's* being brought to Bed, but she affirmed it was of a *dead Female Child*, which they thought fit to inter under a Step near the Barn in the Outer-Court. The *Judge*, attended by a *Physician* and a *Surgeon*, went to the Place she described, where they neither could find a *Stone*, nor any Reason to judge that the *Earth* had been removed, tho' they dug in several Places. The *Count* informed his *Mother* of what the *Midwife* had declared, who answered, that she was a very wicked Woman, and deserved to be put to Death, and that he could not do any Thing more just than to prosecute her to the utmost.

The *Count* took her Advice, and the *Lieutenant Particulier*, in the Absence of the *Lieutenant Criminal*, caused her *Process* to be made before him. On her *second* Examination the *Accused* said, that the *Countess* was never brought to Bed at all. In a *third*, that she was brought to Bed indeed, but
of

of a *Male*. In her *fourth*, that she was brought to *Bed* of a *Son*, who was put into the Hands of *Baulieu*, and was by him carried away in a *Basket*. In her *fifth*, when she was upon the *Stool* (for in *France* the *Criminal*, at his or her *Trial*, sits on a *Sellette* or *Stool*) she affirmed, that by Force and Violence she had been prevailed on to say the *Countess* was brought to *Bed* at all; but in all her Examinations she never slipped a Word in relation to the *Marquiss* of *St. Maixant*, or the *Marchioness* of *Bouille*.

THE Moment she was arrested, she sent *Guillemin*, her Son, to carry this unlucky News to the *Marchioness*, which struck that Lady with so much Concern, that at first she knew not what to say or do; at last, fearing that all she had committed would suddenly be brought to Light, she dispatched the *Sieur de la Foresterie*, her Gentleman-Usher, to the *Lieutenant General*, her Council upon all Occasions, and the capital Enemy of the *Count* her Brother, in order to enquire of him what was to be done in this ticklish Conjunction, in order to support the *Midwife*, without embroiling herself.

HIS Advice was, to stifle the Prosecution if possible, by procuring an *Arret* to stay Proceedings in the *Courts below*; the *Marchioness* thought this Expedient very reasonable, and therefore she sent Orders to her *Lawyer*, to obtain such an *Arret* at the Instance of the *Midwife's Son*, and that nothing might be wanting, she furnished a considerable Sum of *Money*, which she knew very well to be not only the great Support of *War*, but of *Law*.

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Thus armed, no Wonder that they prevailed, her *Lawyer* was indefatigable, and the Pains he took, seconded by his Money, procured at last the *Prohibition* they desired, which, when obtained, was only a *palliative Remedy*, and put off Things but for a little Time.

LA Foresterie was directed to call upon the *Quinett's*, and to furnish them with a little *Money*; but that would not satisfy them, they desired him to tell the *Marchioness* that they would be glad to come and live with her again, and that nothing but the Affection they had for her Service, could have hindered their accepting the advantageous Offers which had been made them by the *Countess*, in Case they would go and live with her.

THEY likewise informed this Gentleman, that a certain *Prior* of the *Capuchins* had apply'd to them, in order to get out of them their Secret, by the Promise of a great Reward from the *Countess*; but that they withstood all, out of respect to his *Lady*. They even put into this Man's Hands a Paper, containg *five and twenty* Articles, on which the *Capuchin* propos'd to examine them. They therefore desired the *Marchioness* would consider these *Questions* thoroughly, and furnish them with such Answers as should to her seem most convenient for them to make. Not long after his Return from this Negociation, *La Foresterie* quitted the Service of the *Marchioness*, who at parting told him, *That if ever he suffered a Word to escape him, of what had been communicated to him by the Quinetts, she would cause de Lisle, her Major Domo, to give him a hundred Stabs to the Heart.*

All

All this, after the Demise of his Lady, *La Forestie* acknowledged upon Oath, when he was examined upon the *Appeal*.

IN the mean Time all imaginable Care was taken to keep up the Spirits of the *Midwife*, who was from Time to Time put in Mind that nothing but a steady persisting to deny all she had done could possibly save her. This was the true Reason of her differing so much in her Answers in her several *Examinations*. Under her *second* and *third* she flattered herself that this might be got over; but the Remorse of her Conscience was so strong at her *fourth*, that she could not avoid telling the whole Truth. Nay, to quiet her Mind, she went farther, and directed a long *Letter* upon this Subject to be writ to the Countess, by a Gentlewoman, whose Name was *du Verdier*, and as a Testimony that the Letter came really from her, she with her own Hand marked it with a *Cross*.

THE *Marchioness*, while these Proceedings were carrying on, was in the utmost Disquiet; she was frightened out of her Wits, when she considered how much she was in the Power of the *Quinetts*, and that at leaving of her Service, they had shewn their Discontent in very rough Terms. For One of them clinching her Fist, and holding it up to her Lady's Face, told her then, *That she would repent turning them away, and that if they were to tell all they knew, they could bring her to the Gallows*. In order therefore to get over this (if possible) she took back both the Women into her Service, causing one of them to be watched as close as possible, and stopping the Mouth of the other, by marrying her
to

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to *de Lisle*, her *Major Domo*, and giving him with her a Portion of *twelve thousand Livres*, or about a *thousand Pounds Sterling*.

THE *first Judge* by this Time began to sum up the Proofs, which appeared before him, in order to discover, as far as he was able, the Truth, and on putting these together it appeared.

THAT the *Midwife* had been seen to wash the *Lines* she had made Use of at the *Countess's* Labour, and that it appeared on them, that *Methods* had been used to force the *Countess's Milk*. That *Baulieu* had been seen to carry a little *Infant* out in a *Hand-Basket*. That he had procured several *Persons* to suckle it, as they themselves testified. That the *Midwife*, *Baulieu*, and his *Brother*, had all of them related the Story of this *Lying-in*. That from various Circumstances in her Conduct, there was good Reason to suspect the *Marchioness de Bouille* was deeply concerned in this Matter.

AMONG all the Testimonies given in on this Affair, the following one from a *Maid*, who lived in the *House*, was the most extraordinary; she said, that the Morning after the *Countess* had suffered such severe Pains, she met the *Midwife* with something in her Lap, which she had been washing in the *Castle Ditch*; that she asked her what it was that she had in her Lap? The *Midwife* answered, *Nothing*. That she being unsatisfy'd, would needs see, and that she perceived on the Cloaths in her Lap Marks of Blood, and other Signs of Labour, which induced her to say, *Then Madam it seems*
is

is brought to Bed. To which the *Midwife* reply'd hastily, *No, she is not*; upon this the Witness returned, *It's very strange that the Marchioness de Bouille, who was at her Labour, should tell me she was.* I am sure, added the *Midwife*, *if she did tell you so, she had a very long Tongue.*

THERE is good Reason to believe, that if the *Count* himself had not interposed to save his Sister's Shame, the *Judge* upon this last Deposition would have caus'd her immediately to have been apprehended; but it was delay'd so long, that the *Marchioness* fell Sick in the mean Time, and died without suffering the least hint of this Matter to escape her in her last Moments.

ALL Difficulties being removed, the *Judge* of *Moulins* pronounced at last his Sentence, by which he declared that the *Midwife* was convicted of having concealed the *Child*, of which she brought the *Countess* of *St. Geran* to *Bed*, for which enormous Crime he condemned her to be *hanged*, after first enduring the *Question*, i. e. the *Torture*, in order to discover her *Accomplices*; but she interposed, an Appeal from his *Sentence*, whereupon she was carried to *Paris*, and sent Prisoner to the *Couciergerie*.

FROM the very Time that the *Count* and *Countess* began to apprehend, that their little *Page* might in Time be proved their *Son*, they encreased their Tenderness towards him, and the Sympathy implanted by Nature, pleading more strongly for him, than all the Proofs which the Course of Justice brought to Light; his noble Parents began
to

to treat him in a Manner becoming his real Quality, by taking off his *Livery*, giving him Persons to wait on him, and assigning him the Title of the *Count de la Palice*, under which he passed while Things were in this Situation.

A particular Friend of the Family, whose Name was *Segueville*, came to the *Countess*, and told her, that he had made a Discovery of a certain *Child's* being baptized very privately at *Paris*, in 1642, in which Affair Mrs. *Pigoreau* was very deep. This Affair being with great Diligence traced to its Source, it came out that the Child was christened at the Church of St. *Jean de Greve*, and that it had afterwards been put to Nurse in the *Village* of *Torcy*. The *Count* thereupon obtained an *Order* that Informations relating to this Business, should be exhibited before the *Criminal Judge* of *Torcy*, and thus a new Gate was opened to Truth.

NOTHING was omitted which could be thought of, for the bringing to publick Notice, every little Circumstances relating to this horrid Fact, and as the Examination went on, new Discoveries were daily made, the *Child* being produced to the *Nurses* and other *Witnesses*, examined before the *Commissary*, appointed to take Depositions at *Torcy*, was readily known, and acknowledged by them all, his fine *Hair* and his blue *Eyes*, were among the *Marks* by which they remembered him; but the certain indelible *Signature* which prevented all Doubts, was the *Impression* left of the *Midwife's* Fingers, where she intended to murder him. They farther deposed, that *Pigoreau* always told them,
that

that the *Boy* belonged to a *Person* of great *Quality*, who would make her *Fortune*, and the *Fortune* of those who were concerned in bringing him up; they said there was a *Man* who appeared well, who used to visit her constantly, who supported what she said; in fine, the *Godfather* the *Grocer*, who paid the two thousand *Livres* a *Year*, and the *Maid* who waited on *Pigoreau*, all agreed in supporting the *Testimony* one of the other. She whom I have last mentioned closed her *Evidence*, by affirming that she heard *Pigoreau* say, when she heard how the *Child* was treated by the *Count*, that the *Boy* was of too honourable a *House* to wear a *Livery*, and serve as a *Page*.

PRUDENT *Berger*, who had been *Page* to the *Marquiss de Maixant*, and who lived in great *Confidence* with his *Master*, deposed that the *Marquiss* gave him an exact *Account* of the whole *Affair*, while he was a *Prisoner* in the *Conciergerie du Palais*, for those horrid *Crimes* which had been before mentioned. His *Servant* said farther, that when the *Marquiss* had related to him this *Story*, he could not help putting him in *Mind* of his *Duty*, in these *Words*: *I am surprized Sir, that finding yourself overwhelmed with such a Multitude of disagreeable Things, you have never thought of discharging your Conscience of this, which is immediately in your Power.* The *Marquiss* thereupon made him this *Reply*, *I am determined to restore the Child to his Father, according to the Directions given me by a Reverend Capuchin, to whom I confessed, that I had found a Means of breeding up in the midst of his own Family, though without their knowing it, the Grandson of a Marechal of France,*
the

the only Son of a Governour of a Province. This Man declared also, that the *Marquifs de St. Maixant* being permitted by the *Goaler*, to go out sometimes, in order to tranfact his Affairs, and he this *Deponent* being with him when he was Abroad, one Day the *Marquifs* shewed him a *Child*, of about *seven* years old, of a fine Complexion, and bid this *Witness* take Notice of that *Child* and know him for the *Boy*, of whom he had told him such strange Things, and who was the true *Son* of the *Countess* of *St. Geran*.

THERE were also *Witnesses* produced, who were present when the *Marquifs* died, who swore that he said to the *Clergyman*, who administred to him the *Sacrament*, that he had a Secret of great Importance to reveal to the *Count* and *Countess* of *St. Geran*; but he had scarce pronounced these Words, before the Pangs of Death seized him, and deprived him of the *Use* of *Speech*. The *Servant* of the *Marquifs* whom we have before mentioned, being brought before the *M. de Tillet*, *Councillor* of the *Parliament*, acknowledged that the young *Count de Palice* was the very *Child*, whom the *Marquifs* had shewn him, and declared to be the concealed *Son* of the *Countess* of *St. Geran*.

THE Court considering the Circumstances that had appeared in Relation to *Mrs. Pigoreau*, though her Name was not mentioned in the Bill of Complaint, yet they thought fit to send her a Summons, to appear personally, which unexpected Stroke of Justice exceedingly alarmed that Woman of Intrigue, notwithstanding all her
Cunning

Cunning and Artifice, and her being so much practiced in Things of this Nature.

THE young Lady Widow of the Duke *de Ventadour*, and Daughter by the second Bed, to the *Marechalefs de Geran*, and the *Countess du Lude*, Daughter to the *Marchioness de Bouille*, resolved to dispute at Law, the Right of this young Count; in Order to make themselves Heiresses of the House of St. *Geran*. We ought to make no Question, but that the Truth was hid from these Ladies, otherwise it cannot be supposed, that they would have entered on such a Part as this, or have encreased by their Opposition, the Misfortunes of that noble Family, to which they were so nearly related.

THE *Marquis* of St. *Maixant* did not long survive the *Marchioness de Bouille*, he refused to marry her, notwithstanding she was become a Widow; thus the two Principal Persons in this black Affair, escaped the Hands of Justice, before their Demerits were thoroughly known. God reserving to himself the punishing of them as they deserved, and calling them for that Purpose suddenly to his Bar.

THE Dutchess of *Ventadour*, and the Countess *du Lude* countenanced the Midwife, they held a Council together, how their Affairs might best be managed, in which it was resolved, that the Persons *accused* should appeal from the Criminal Process now carrying on against them; that Mrs. *Pigoreau* should present a Petition in one of the King's Courts, praying a Repeal of the Arrets formerly granted,

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granted, and a Confrontation of the Witnesses hitherto examined, they prosecuted also the Appeal from the Sentence of the first Judge, who had condemned the Midwife to suffer Death; nay, in Order to make a grand Diversion, and to find the Enemy as much Employment as possible, Mrs. *Pigoreau* was to contest the *Countesses* Maternity, and to reclaim the Child from her as its Mother. The Ladies setting forth, that her supposed being brought to Bed was a mere Fraud and Artifice, in order to facilitate her imposing a Child upon the Family. That their Schemes might be the less suspected, and carry a fairer Appearance, Mrs. *Pigoreau* was to act a part, and the Ladies were to pretend they knew nothing of her Intentions.

WHILE all these Contrivances were on Foot, the Midwife died, before the Sentence passed upon her could be revived, and her Crime consequently accompany'd her to her Grave. After her Death, *Guillemin* her Son acknowledged, that she declared on her Death Bed, as she had often done before to him, that she brought the *Countess* to Bed of a Son, who was taken away by *Baulieu*, and that the same Child which that Man brought to be educated in the Castle of *St. Geran*, was the very Child which she had taken from the *Countess*. This Witness added, that he concealed this Matter during the Life of his Mother, because it might have affected her Life; but that now she was no more, he thought himself at Liberty to acquit his Conscience; he declared farther, that the *Dutcheſs de Ventadour* and the *Countess du Lude* had supplied his Mother with Money, and given her
from

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from time to time their Advice. The Appeals of the Persons accused, and the Petitions of the Ladies *Ventendour* and *du Lude*, were discussed in seven *Audiences*, the three Chambers of Parliament being assembled.

Mrs. *Pigoreau* who claimed the young *Count* as her Child, was heard first.

MOUSIEUR Pouffet de Montauban was of Council for that Woman, he embellished his Pleadings after the Custom of those Times, with Passages out of History, Applications from Fables, and long Quotations from prophane Authors, to pass these by, let us cast our Eyes a little on the more material Parts of his Harrangue, he began it thus :

“ MY Lords, here is a Child has found two
“ Mothers ; or rather, here are two Mothers, one
“ of them has found her Son, and the other
“ would fain find him ; the true Mother has seen
“ him, demanded him, and been refused him ;
“ the pretended Mother only fancies she sees him,
“ and embraces an Idol, found either through her
“ Crime or her Mistake ; in a Word, she either
“ deceives or is deceived ; my Client demands her
“ Son, the Fruit of her Labour, the Pledge of
“ her Love : The *Countess de St. Geran* demands
“ him also as her Son, or as her Phantom”.

HE proceeded to inform the Court of the Birth of *Henry de Bauliau*, born after the Death of his Father, on the 30th of *June*, 1639 ; he apply'd this Birth to the young *Count*, and following this
assumed

assumed Fact, he maintained that, *Henry de Baulieu* was the Child put into the Hands of the *Major Domo* of the *Count de St. Geran*, who was by his Uncle brought up in the House of the said *Count*, and the same Child who afterwards becoming the Page of that Nobleman, was now made the Subject of this Dispute. He treated as a mere Fiction, all that had been said, and indeed all that had been sworn, as to the Child of which the *Countess* had been delivered, and its being carried away in so extraordinary a Manner by *Baulieu*.

H E after laid down various of the Civil Laws, relating to Succession, and having shewn that a Persons owning a Child, could be no Prejudice to the real Parents thereof, that it could not be presumed *Mrs. Pigoreau* would be guilty of such a Crime as that imputed to her, *viz.* that having but one Son, to inherit that small Matter that was left her by her Husband, in order to rob him, she should substitute another no way related to her, and by claiming of whom she could have no Advantage upon Earth. As to the Transaction at the Parish Church of *St. John en Greve* he said, that the *Bernard* there Christened, was the Bastard of a *Dancing Master* in *Paris*, younger by three Years than *Henry Baulieu*, that the Names of the Father and Mother were omitted, because they did not care to publish their Shame; that he had been lately sent into the Army, where by the Performance of worthy Actions, he might efface the Scandal of his Birth. He next proceeded to rally the *Count* and *Countess* on the Subject of this Prosecution. “ If said he, they have a Mind
“ to take *Bernard* for their Son, doubtless they
“ may

“ may have him. His Father and Mother will
 “ be glad to abandon him to them ; they have
 “ no Occasion to picque themselves so much upon
 “ his Birth, as to make it stand in the way of
 “ his Glory. If her Ladyship pleases, no doubt
 “ they will vouch the strange Story she tells us,
 “ of being brought to Bed without Pain, she does
 “ not know, nor when, they will testify the Mi-
 “ racle and publish it to all the World. *Bernard*
 “ with Joy will change his Estate and Fortune,
 “ and doubtless will conserve for the Count and
 “ Countess the highest Affection imaginable. I
 “ would not say this if ours was not a Cause of
 “ Miracles, and if all I say did not relate to a
 “ Child who came into the World little to the
 “ Joy of its Parents”. Finding this sort of Railery
 was not approved, he became more serious, re-
 proached the young *Count* who was present, with
 Ingratitude and want of filial Affection towards his
 Mother ; he insisted much on the Letters writ-
 ten by this Youth, to Mrs. *Pigoreau* and *Anthony*
Baulieu, or to his Mother and Brother. He then
 fell upon the pretended Labour of the *Countess de*
St. Geran without Pain, which by a Number of
 Testimonies from Scripture, Fathers, prophane Hi-
 storians and Physicians, he demonstrated to be a
 Fable ; and when he had so done, he concluded,
 that he hoped the Judgment of that illustrious As-
 sembly before whom he spoke, would not confirm
 so unreasonable an Assertion ; but rather render back
 an ungrateful Son to his true Mother, who sought
 him only from a Principle of natural Affection,
 and from those Yearnings which are inseparable
 from the Fruits of one’s Love.

THE Advocate for the Ladies *Ventadour* and *du Lude* was next heard ; he said that his Clients had not presented their Petition to be made Parties intervening in this Cause, from any sordid or mercenary Interest, that it was not because they saw all their Hopes baffled, and all their Expectations crossed, by the owning this supposititious Child ; but merely from their Grief, to see the *Countess* so misled, as to desire to give them for their near Relation, and presumptive Heir of the House of *St. Geran*, an unknown Child, suspected (not without just Reason) to be the Son, nay, the Bastard of a *Dancing Master* ; that they could not suffer such an illegitimate Brat to be brought into so illustrious a House, and to be made the Descendant of the heroick Counts *de St. Geran*, who had served the State in so glorious a manner. He endeavoured to render the Story of the *Countess's* being brought to Bed ridiculous. He pretended also to laugh out of Countenance, the common Reports, that his Clients had any thing to do with *Mrs. Pigoreau* ; he went farther, he said his Clients were ready to renounce all Right they might have to the Succession of *St. Geran* ; he said they were satisfy'd with the Circumstances they were in, and had no Reason to desire a Succession of Riches, to support the Honours of their respective Families ; however he demanded, that their Intervention should be admitted, and that the Child should be restored to *Mrs. Pigoreau*, or to whoever else should appear to be its true Mother.

MONSIEUR

MONSIEUR *Petitnied*, Advocate for the Count and Countess of St. *Geran*, insisted, that the Ladies last-mentioned, had no Right to make themselves intervening Parties; first, because the Civil Law did not allow this to collateral Heirs, in an Action of this Nature; and secondly, because the Ladies had presented their Petition out of Time. He went on to shew the grand Mistake, into which both the Lawyers, who had spoke before him, had fallen, in asserting that his Client, the Countess, endeavoured to pass upon the World her Labour, as a Thing miraculous; inasmuch as she had escaped the Punishment of Original Sin, which in Point of the Female Sex entailed the Pains of Child-bed, he said it was ridiculous, the Countess pretended no such Thing; on the contrary, she had suffered for many Hours the severest Pangs which Woman could endure; that as to her bringing forth at last, without Pains, and without her Knowledge, it was no such miraculous Thing, as the Gentlemen on the other Side would make it, inasmuch as it might have been the Effect of Magick, nay even of Physick, in the Hands of such abandoned Persons as were then about her. He then proceeded to mention a Multitude of Facts, parallel in their Nature to that whereon his Client's Cause rested, and having set the various Proofs, brought to support it, in the best Light they were capable of, he there wound up his Discourse.

THE Advocate-General *Bignon*, who also spake in this great Cause, began his Oration with observing, that the Matter at present before the

Court abounded with Prodigies, that the Dispute was in a Manner revived, which had formerly exercised the Penetration of the wisest of Kings, that if he discovered the pretended Mother, by her Cruelty, in consenting to have the Infant divided, so it might be in like Measure be said of Mrs. *Pigoreau*, that in the midst of her Indigence she refused to provide for her Child, and now she opposed herself to *Fortune*, who was desirous to take the Boy out of her Hands; that considering how she had put him upon his Uncle, she might in some Sense be said to have murder'd him, since it is a Maxim of the Civil Law, *Satis necare videtur qui Alimenta denegat*; it is in some Sense, *To kill a Child when we refuse it Nourishment*.

“ BUT my Lords, continued he, I was saying, that there were many Oddities, or rather Prodigies in this Affair, give me leave to recapitulate some of them, on the one Side we have a Lady here, who would needs have us believe, that after twenty Years Barrenness, she brought forth an Heir; on the other Hand, we have a Mother, who has raised her Child from the Dead, who after bathing its Grave with her Tears, put it out again to Nurse, sent it Home to its Uncle, and now reclaims it, as if she thought this August Assembly would suffer a Contrivance to be put on them for a Fact, which in a *Romance* would scarce pass for a plausible *Adventure*.

“ AS to the Confessions of the Midwife, my Lords, it is not indeed fit to insist much upon them, she was so notoriously guilty of Prevarication,

" tion, that one cannot help confessing that Truth
 " itself would scarce be credible, should it pass
 " to this noble Auditory, through so base a Canal ;
 " but the other Proofs offered on the Part of the
 " Countess, are not liable to these Reflections,
 " they are as clear, as plain, and as worthy of
 " Credit as the Nature of the Thing will allow ;
 " with respect to Mrs. *Pigoreau*, I must beg
 " leave to observe, that the Deposition of the
 " *Grocer*, who paid her the two thousand *Livres*
 " a Year, overturns all that she advances ; for as
 " long as she had this Assistance, she maintained
 " the Child, 'tis true ; but the Moment it was
 " withdrawn, she abandon'd him : Who, my
 " Lords, should allow a Woman Money to keep
 " her own Child, or what Mother would abandon
 " her own Infant, meerly because other People
 " would not support it ?"

" THE Behaviour of the Marquis of St.
 " *Maixant*, and of *Baulieu*, upon their Death-
 " Beds, are the strongest Testimonies in Support
 " of all that the Countess suggests, it is clearly
 " proved that both these Persons in their last
 " Moments, were sensibly touched with the
 " Crimes they had committed, and each of
 " them expressed an earnest Inclination to give the
 " Count de St. *Geran* Satisfaction, on Account
 " of some flagrant Injury which had been done
 " him ; and though it be admitted that the *Marchioness de Bouille* did never make any Confessions, yet there are Circumstances no less strong
 " in her Case, than those which we have mentioned, her extraordinary Terror on the apprehending of the Midwife, the Steps taken by her

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“ in Consequence thereof, and the Sums she has
 “ advanced, in order to evade Justice, are indubitable Proofs of a foul, though not of a wounded Conscience.

“ T H E Marquiss of St. *Maixant*, the Marchioness *de Bouille*, the *Major Domo Baulieu*, and the *Midwife*, are now no more, they have all long e'er now, answered for their Crimes at another Tribunal, and there remains of the whole Cabal, only *Pigoreau*, who can clear up this Matter before your Lordships, if God would touch her Heart. I am confident she has it in her Power to disembarraßs this perplexed Scene, and to render yet evident the Crimes of those who seem at present to have carried their Secret with them into the Regions of Eternity.

“ I T is strongly insisted on my Lords, that the Countess, inasmuch as she alledges the Death of Mrs. *Pigoreau's* second Son, should prove it from the Register, as she did the *Baptism*; but, my Lords, if this wicked Woman really perpetrated such a Crime, as substituting the young Count of St. *Geran* in the Room of her deceased Son, can it be supposed that she would leave so clear, and so manifest a Proof against herself upon Record, certainly it cannot, and if any Proof but this will do, I may be bold to say it has been produced; here is the Lady *Moranges* Deposition, who swears that Mrs. *Pigoreau* owned to her, her second Son was dead; and here is the Deposition of *Mary Migot*, Daughter of the very *Midwife*, who brought *Pigoreau* to Bed of this second Child, and she says that
 “ she

“ she heard Mrs. *Pigoreau* own to her Mother,
 “ who is deceased, that the Child she delivered
 “ her of was dead.

“ As to the Railleries, my Lords, which have
 “ been plaid off, on Account of its being suggest-
 “ ed that something magical might have been
 “ made use of, to prevent the Countess’s being
 “ sensible of the Fraud committed by the *Midwife*,
 “ I think I need not have Recourse to long Quo-
 “ tations of Scriptures and Fathers to answer them ;
 “ on the contrary, I fancy the following Instance,
 “ drawn from the Life of St. *Cyprian*, will leave
 “ them without Reply. While that famous Person
 “ remained under the Cloud of *Paganism*, he
 “ gave himself up wholly to *Magick*, because he
 “ knew no other Gods than the Dæmons, who
 “ were obedient to his Commands, in return for
 “ the Worship he paid them. One of his Friends
 “ being enamoured of a young Woman, whose
 “ Beauty was as extraordinary as her Virtue, and
 “ both above the common Level, finding all his Ad-
 “ dresses to no Purpose, applied to his Friend for
 “ Assistance, and entreated him by Force of his
 “ Magick, to procure a happy Issue to his Love.
 “ The Magician yielding to his Friend’s Request,
 “ promised all in his Power, and as soon as the
 “ Inamorato was gone, he began to practice his
 “ Incantations.

“ THE Dæmon appeared, and told the Ma-
 “ gician, he was come to perform what Service
 “ he should enjoin him. *Cyprian* commanded
 “ him to go and oblige the young Woman to love
 “ his Friend, and to gratifie his Desires ; the

“ Devil promised that he would, and then de-
 “ parted ; but soon after returned, and said it
 “ was not in his Power, for that she was a
 “ *Christian*, and under the Protection of *Mary*,
 “ the *Mother of God*. The *Magician* demanded
 “ who was this *God*, for that he had never heard
 “ of him before ? The Dæmon was then obliged to
 “ acknowledge his Subjection to the supreme Lord
 “ of the Universe, and to acquaint the Magician,
 “ that there was one *God*, the Creator and Go-
 “ vernour of all Things, to whom himself and
 “ all other Spirits were inferior in their Nature,
 “ and bound to an absolute Obedience. Hitherto
 “ said the Magician, I conceived that you had no
 “ Superior ; henceforward I will rather pay Obe-
 “ dience to him than to you, and thus by the
 “ Means of the Devil, the Conversion began of
 “ One, who afterwards became a shining Light
 “ in the *Christian Church*”.

“ T H U S my Lords, it is clear, that all that
 “ is said of *Art Magick* is not fabulous, and can
 “ we believe that a fitter Instrument for the Devil,
 “ could be found, than that unhappy Midwife,
 “ who was employed in this horrid Affair ? Have
 “ we not a Deposition in Relation to the Marquis
 “ *de Maixant*, that having deluded a young Wo-
 “ man called *Jaculine de la Garde*, and she in-
 “ sisting only on the Fears of undergoing the Pains
 “ of Child-Birth, he thereupon offered her the
 “ Assistance of this his abominable Instrument,
 “ who he affirmed had a Secret of bringing Wo-
 “ men to Bed without Pain. This very young
 “ Woman has sworn, that he Marquis boasted
 “ to

“ to her of his Ingenuity, in bringing up the Child
 “ of a *Marechal of France* in the House of his
 “ Father and Mother, without their knowing of
 “ it. That he likewise told her, that he owed
 “ his present Riches to the *Marchioness de Bou-*
 “ *ille*, and that on her commending the Situation
 “ of the House and Gardens where they were,
 “ and saying it was a fine Place, the *Marquiss* al-
 “ luding to the Name of the *Count de St. Geran's*
 “ *Major Domo* said, I have another *Beau Lieu*,
 “ which will one Day put me in Possession of five
 “ hundred thousand Crowns. *Monsieur Fadelon*
 “ has also sworn, that coming Post to *Paris*,
 “ with the *Marquiss St. Maixant*, he told him,
 “ the *Countess de St. Geran* had been brought to
 “ Bed of a Child who was in his Power, he added,
 “ that he had heard Mrs. *Pigoreau* had put the
 “ Child into the Hands of her Brother-in-Law as
 “ her own, and that the Boy was not her Son,
 “ but the true Son of the *Count and Countess de*
 “ *St. Geran*, as in Time he should be able to
 “ prove ; it seems my Lords, this Crime lay so
 “ heavy at his Heart, that he was obliged from
 “ time to time to confess something of it in order
 “ to ease him a little”.

“ THERE is one thing more my Lords,
 “ which deserves Consideration, and it is this :
 “ The Mother of Mr. *Pigoreau* actually made Con-
 “ fession of the whole Affair, and all the Trans-
 “ actions relating thereto, to the *Countess of Mon-*
 “ *tabilan*, and that Lady has sworn it. Give me
 “ Leave to say, that on considering all these Cir-
 “ cumstances, it can never with Justice be affirm-
 “ ed, that there has already appeared full Cause

“ to reverse the Judgment of Death given against
 “ the Midwife ; as to Mrs. *Pigoreau*, though
 “ there be not Proofs strong enough to convict
 “ her, yet surely they are more than sufficient to
 “ shew, that she has not been prosecuted without
 “ Cause. Interventions my Lord, have been
 “ seldom granted in Criminal Causes, and there-
 “ fore it is reasonably to be expected you will not
 “ allow them here. On the Whole therefore, I
 “ hope it will seem reasonable to your Lordships,
 “ to discharge the Petition of Mrs. *Pigoreau*, com-
 “ plaining of the Proceedings against her, to leave
 “ the Course of Justice open against that Wo-
 “ man, in Case any farther Witnessies can be
 “ found, to dismiss with Satisfaction of Cost to the
 “ Count and Countess de *St. Geran*, such Appeals
 “ as have been brought on purpose to delay them,
 “ and that as to the Interventions, prayed by the
 “ Ladies *Ventadour* and *du Lude*, their Claims
 “ may attend the Event of the original Process”.

BY an *Arret* pronounced after seven Hearings
 at the *Tournelle*, by *Monsieur de Mesmes*, on the
 18th of *August*, 1567. The Appellants and the
 Accused were discharged, only Mrs. *Pigoreau* was
 forbid to go out of the City and Suburbs of *Paris*,
 under Pain of Conviction. The Petition of Inter-
 vention was also annexed to the Process, as the
 Advocate General *Bigon* had desired.

Mrs. *Pigoreau* behaved herself very impudently
 upon this *Arret*, she looked upon herself to be pretty
 much out of Danger, and therefore she employed
 herself in writing, or at least in handing about some
 very scurrilous Ballads, on the Proceedings at the
Tour-

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Tourneile, in these she rallied very grossly all the Parties concerned, especially the *Countess* and her Advocate ; but this was far from having the Effect she designed, for it irritated People against herself, and inclined them to Pity the more that unhappy Lady. In the mean Time the *Count* and *Countess* having got some farther Lights, presented a new Petition, praying that the Child in their Hands might be declared their Son. The Ladies *de Ventadour* and *du Lude* were astonished at this ; but inasmuch as they had hitherto supported Mrs. *Pigoreau*, and actually carried her to the Hearings in their Coach, they resolved to make Use of her now, in order to stave off a Decision, which they foresaw would not be to their Satisfaction ; they engaged her therefore, to make a great Shew of Courage and Resolution, and induced her to present a Petition, praying that the Witnesses hitherto produced by the *Countess*, to prove her being with Child, might be confronted with her, and with such Witnesses as she could bring. The Court upon this Petition made an Order upon the 28th of *August*, 1658, that such a Confrontation should be granted ; but required that in Order thereto, Mrs. *Pigoreau* should in three Days surrender herself a Prisoner into the *Conciergerie*.

THIS was a *Coup d' Eclat* Mrs. *Pigoreau* little expected, and when it came it embarrassed her so much that she knew not what to do ; she saw plainly, that if she did not surrender her Cause would be lost, and she knew very well if she did, her Life would be in Danger ; she therefore very wisely preferred her own Safety to the Interest of the Ladies who hitherto supported her, and with-

drew into Foreign Parts, to escape the Punishment she feared.

H E R Contumacy having prejudged her, the Cause was now ripe for Decission ; for which Reason the *Count* set out for *Bourbonnois*, in order to draw together his Witnesses, who were to prove the *Countess's* Pregnancy ; but while he was in this Province, he was obliged to pay his Duty to their Majesties the King and the Queen Mother, who in their Return from *Lyons*, passed through *Moulins*, and this prevented his procuring a speedy Hearing of his Cause. He presented however, to their Majesties, the young *Count de la Palice* as his Son, and they very graciously received him in that Quality. The Care the *Count de St. Geran* took that every thing might be in Order, for the Reception of the King and Queen, put his Spirits into such a Ferment, and exposed his Body to such a Fatigue, that he fell ill while they were at *Moulins*. During his Illness, which lasted but eight Days, he made his Will, and therein acknowledged his Son anew, naming for his Executors *M. de la Barriere*, *Intendant* of the Province, and the *Sieur Violet*, *Treasurer* of *France*, directing them to cause the Process to be finished as soon as possible.

S O M E Years before, in a mutual Testament made by him and by the *Countess*, they had charged their Consciences reciprocally with this Care of pursuing the Recovery of their Son, and punishing the Authors of his long Concealment ; and that he had not compleated this desirable Work, was the only thing which troubled this illustrious Nobleman

in his last Moments. He died on the 31st of January, 1659.

THE Tendernefs of the *Countefs*, in refpect of her unhappy Son, if it had been capable of Augmentation, would have received new Strength from the Directions given in her Husband's Will; ſhe ſuffered no more Time to be loſt than was abſolutely neceſſary to be ſpent, in paying her Devoirs to the Memory of ſo good a Husband, before ſhe entered on this important Buſineſs. In the firſt Place ſhe accepted the Guardianship of him, and having aſſembled above forty Lords, who were related to the young *Count*, either by Father's Side or Mother's Side, they named the *Sieur de Bompre* for his *Curator*. She then applied herſelf to the Purſuit of her Cauſe, and the Court named the *Lieutenant Criminal de St. Pierre le Moutier*, to hear and examine her Witneſſes. All this while the Ladies *Ventadour* and *du Lude*, were taking all poſſible Meaſures for defeating the *Counteſs's* Deſigns, or at leaſt, for drawing the Proceedings into a vaſt Length; they procured Letters of Inheritance in their Favour, and threw in a Petition; againſt the Sentence of the *Lieutenant General* of the *Bourbonnois*, whereby the *Counteſs de St. Geran* was declared Guardian to her Son, and the *Sieur de Bompre* his *Curator*.

THE *Counteſs* on her Side, was obliged to petition the Appeal of theſe Letters of Inheritance, and to endeavour the hearing of all Matters in Diſpute at the *Tournelle*; whereas the Ladies *Ventadour* and *du Lude*, proſecuted their Appeal to the *Grand Chamber*. But it appearing, that the Pre-

tentions of these Ladies were so interwoven with the principal Cause, that there was no Possibility of a separate Decission, the *Countess* carried her Point, and the whole Affair was referred as she had desired by an *Arret* of the three Chambers.

NOTWITHSTANDING so many Disappointments as they had hitherto met with, the Ladies *Ventadour* and *du Lude*, persisted obstinately in the Conduct which they had so long pursued, they were daily plotting how to embarrass the Lady, and to give her all the Disturbance they possibly could in her Affairs; in Consequence of these Schemes, the *Count du Lude* frequently procured Letters of State, commanding a Stay of all Proceedings for a certain Time, without assigning any Cause. These Intervals the Ladies made Use of to practice on the *Countess's* Witnesses, but finding on repeated Trials that nothing could that Way be done, they boldly presented a Petition, in which they demanded, that they might be permitted to produce Witnesses to prove, that the *Countess* never was with Child at all, that her pretended Lying-in was a mere Fiction, and that the Child she claimed, was in Reality the Son of *James Baulieu* and *Mary Pigoreau*.

THE unwearied Pains however, of the *Countess* overcame all Obstacles, and enabled her to defeat all their Designs; so that after a Struggle of three Years, she procured an *Arret* on the 9th of *April*, 1661; whereby the King in Person called before himself, as well the Process depending at the *Tournelle*, as the Appeals respectively made, and the last Petition of the Ladies *du Lude* and *de Ventadour*,

dour, and referred all Parties to the *Chambers* assembled, in Order to have their Demands finally determined, either jointly or separately, as to the three *Chambers* shall seem fit.

THE Ladies *Ventadour* and *du Lude*, still carried on their Cause; but the Court on the 19th of *July*, 1663; published an *Arret*, wherein saving the Rights of all the Parties, they determined provisionally, that till such Time as all Suits should be finally heard and decided, the young *Bernard* should remain in Possession of, and enjoy the Name and Arms of the House of *Guiche*, and the Goods and Inheritance of *Claudian de la Guiche*, *Count de St. Geran*, under the Guardianship of the Lady de *Longaunay*, until the Court should otherwise determine.

AFTER the Publication of this *Arret*, the Parties concerned in this long and great Suit, took more Pains than ever, the one to maintain the Advantage acquired, and the other to overturn the several Sentences given against them; *M. Bil-lain*, Advocate for the *Countess*, published a *Faëtum*, in which he set the Proofs produced on her Side, in the clearest Light. It would tire my *Readers* to have all the Facts they have so often heard recapitulated again, I shall therefore take Notice only of such Points in that Writing, as have not hitherto been thoroughly explained.

HE says, that though it be superfluous, he is ready to prove, that the young *Count* is neither *Henry Baulieu*, nor the Bastard of *Bernard de Mantes the Dancing-Master*.

As to the first, Mrs. *Pigoreau* acknowledged to the Ladies *Morugues* and to the *Sieur de la Garda*, that her second Son was dead, that the Father of Mrs. *Pigoreau* and the *Midwife* are positive to the Truth of this, which is besides made out by the Testimony of several other Witnesses. The Infant concerned in this Process, was remembered by the Nurses at *Torcy* and the other Witnesses to have seen the Child brought up in that Village, by his fair Hair, large blue Eyes, and all his Features; so that he could not possibly be *Henry Baulieu*, who, by the concurring Testimonies of various Witnesses, was a very brown Child.

ON the other Hand, he can much less be the Bastard of *Bernard de Mantes*, for that Child is sworn to have had black Hair, and a very bad Complexion, whereas the young Count is quite another Sort of a Person, the Bastard was sent to Nurse at *la Croix-fauxbain*, to *Magdalen Tripier*; Mrs. *Pigoreau* pretends that she was the Mother of this Child; but how does this appear from the Register at the Baptism, or who can believe that she would have the Front to go with her Bastard in her Arms to have it baptized; besides, let us but consider the different Steps which appear to have been taken in the bringing up of these Children, and the Truth will flash in our Eyes, they were carried to different Places, they had different Nurses, none of the Witnesses knew both the Children, one is sworn to be very fair, and the other very black.

BUT

BUT it may be asked, how came all this Confusion about? Why, that too is easily answered, Mrs. *Pigoreau* perceiving plainly that she should never be able to impose upon the World the young *Count de St. Geran*, for her second Son *Henry*, resolved to have another String to her Bow, and therefore reclaimed him as her Bastard. But finding that fraud too on the very Point of being discovered, she fled out of the Kingdom to avoid it.

THE Ladies *de Ventudour* and *du Lude* are pleased to say, that it is to preserve the Honour of the *Houſe de Guiche* from being sullied, by receiving into it the illegitimate Son of a Dancing-Maſter; but alas! theſe are Pretences only, and Intereſt, that Dæmon Intereſt, which haunts the Great, as well as the Low, has inſpired theſe Ladies with the Deſire of injuring a Child born among his Enemies, and who has never been free from the Efforts of their Malice ſince his Birth; can theſe Ladies believe that the late *Count de St. Geran*, a Nobleman, whoſe Honour was unſtained, and whoſe Life was irreproachable, ſhould in the laſt Moments of his Life contrive to injure his Family, for the ſake of a baſe-born Son, of an ignominious Stranger, that at the very Hour of Death, when all our Paſſions forſake us, and all worldly Deſigns appear of ſo little worth, he ſhould order a Codicil to be added to his Will, in order to gain a freſh Opportunity of declaring, as it were with his laſt Breath, that he was thoroughly perſuaded this Child was his Son, and that his laſt Concern was, that he ſhould inherit his Name and Eſtates; how then

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then can the Ladies *de Ventudour* and *du Lude*, treat so injuriously the late *Count de St. Geran*, the Brother of the one, and the Uncle of the other, the Nobleness and Generosity of whose Heart they were so well acquainted with.

HE afterwards shews at large, that according to the Civil Laws, these Ladies had no Right to interpose in the Manner they did, he animadverts severely on the Methods they had taken to compass the End at which they aimed, their supporting first the Midwife, whose Process, after the severest Examination, was allowed to have had a just Decision; their countenancing Mrs. *Pigoreau* in all her Artifices, and supplying her with Money to carry them on, their unjust Applications, merely to delay the Decision of this Cause, since that Woman's Flight; he concludes with shewing the prodigious Hardship the young Count and his Mother sustained, in being obliged to attend the Court so many Years, after all the material Points in dispute were fully cleared up, therefore he prays that the final Sentence may be speedy, and in their Favour.

THE Advocate employed by the Ladies *de Ventadour* and *du Lude*, who was a Person of great Abilities in his Profession, strained them all in his Answer to this *Faëtum*, which was drawn up with all the Art and Precaution imaginable. In the opening of this Answer he set forth, that the Countess of *St. Geran* might have amused herself and the World with the unaccountable Story of her Lying-in, as long as she had pleased, had it not affected the Honour of the illustrious House of *Guiche*,

Guiche, which it became these Ladies, who were so nearly allied thereto, to defend. As to the Countess herself, he suggested, that having all her Life long been addicted to Reading *Romances*, she might well be pleased with the *Marvellous*; but other Folks were not obliged to be so complaisant, nor to have Conceptions so quick and so passive as hers.

HENCE arises our Opposition, hence the various Proceedings of my Clients, to save the Honour of a Lady against her Will, and to preserve so noble a House from the indelible Stain which will otherwise be brought upon it. As to the mighty Proofs so loudly talked of, so artfully managed, and so eloquently magnified, let them but be sifted, and they fall to the Ground. What Story more strange? Or rather what Romance more improbable, than the History of *Baulieu's* Flight with the Child? What Adventures after its being left at *Paris*? What Gaps? What Intervals of Time to be supply'd? What Testimony of the Death of *Henry de Baulieu*? When was he Sick? Where? What his Distemper? And how long did it last? Where was he buried? What Record is there of that? If they fail in this Point, why is not Mrs. *Pigoreau* to be heard, when she asserts that he is still alive, and reclaims her Son? How contrary to the Rules of Nature, as well as repugnant to the Maxims of Law, is the Story of the Countess's being brought to Bed? And the terrible Feats of Magick which at that Time she sustained? Does History, Experience, or our Law-Books acknowledge any such Accident to have happen'd, or any such Pretence to have been allow'd?

THE

THE Letters of the Marechalleſs, and even that Lady's Teſtimony, are ſo diametrically oppoſite to all that the Counteſs pretends ; that if they prove that ſhe once thought that her Daughter was with Child, they demonſtrate likewiſe that ſhe never thought her delivered ; we are ready therefore to grant them the firſt Point, provided they do not deny us the ſecond, which if they do, they ſubvert the Credit of the whole, and deſtroy one of their beſt Proofs ; they talk indeed of a Conſpiracy, in which the Midwiſe, the Marquiſs *de St. Maixant*, and the Marchioneſs *de Bouille*, were concerned ; but did the unhappy Midwiſe, even under the Fear of Death, confeſs any ſuch Thing ? They do not ſo much as ſay ſhe did ; if we might be admitted to prove it, we could ſhew that *Bernard*, the Son of the Dancing-Maſter, who was baptized at *St. John en Greve*, is ſtill alive, and in the Power of his Father ; nay, we could prove by Perſons that eat and drank with him, that *Baulieu* was never out of the Caſtle of *St. Geran* ; on the whole therefore it is to be hoped, that ſo auſt an Aſſembly will never ſanctify the Dreams of a vapoury Woman, by a Sentence in her Favour, or reſtore all the Honours of the illuſtrious Houſe of *Guiche*, on a Foundling of a low, at leaſt it may be of a baſe Extraction.

ALL theſe plauſible Suggeſtions had no Weight with the Court, they ſaw clearly, that if the not making out the minute Circumſtances of a Villainy, when the Agents and Contrivers thereof were dead, ſhould overturn the cleareſt Teſtimonies to eſſential Points, that it would be an Encouragement

Couragement to Fraud, and a mighty Wrong to the Innocent ; they were of Opinion, that letting in the Ladies *Ventadour* and *du Lude* to make new Proofs, and examine Witnesses afresh, would tend to the overthrowing a criminal Prosecution, already determined by the Consequences of a Civil Cause, which they held to be both dangerous and absurd ; they likewise look'd upon the Flight of Mrs. *Pigoreau*, to escape submitting to their Order, as a Fact unanswerably indicative of her Guilt, which alone was sufficient to confirm the Truth of what was alledged in the Favour of the Countess of *St. Geran*.

ON the fifth of *June* 1566, the Parliament pronounced the following Sentence, respecting alike the various Suits commenced, and depending, in Regard to this Affair.

WITHOUT farther Regard to the Petition, preferred by the Ladies *Mary de la Guiche* and *Eleanor de Bouille*, in respect to their Appeals, against the Sentence procured by the Lady *Susanna de Longaunay*, and the several other Proceedings on the *Arret* of the 12th of *August*, 1658. It is ordered, that the Provision made by that *Arret*, be, and is hereby made definitive ; and this Court hath maintained and awarded, and doth hereby maintain and award, unto *Bernard de la Guiche*, as the natural and legitimate Son of *Claude de la Guiche*, and *Susanna de Longaunay*, in the Possession and Enjoyment of the Name and Arms of the House *de la Guiche*, and of all the Effects devised him by the said *Claude de la Guiche* his Father, and the said Court doth hereby forbid the
said

said *Mary de la Guiche* and *Eleanor de Bouille* to give him any farther Trouble.

FARTHER in respect to the Petitions of the said *Mary de la Bouille* and *Eleanor Guiche*, of the 4th of *June*, 1664; the 4th of *August*, 1665; the 6th of *January*, the 10th of *February*, the 12th of *March*, the 15th of *April*, and the 2d of *June*, 1666; they are hereby dismissed, rejected, and condemned with Costs. And this Court further declares, that the Process against *Mary la Pigoreau* being justly determined, by her being pronounced, convict and attainted in consequence whereof, they condemn her to be hanged and strangled on a Gibbet, for that Purpose to be erected, in the Place de Greve in this City, if she can be apprehended, and if not in Effigie in the same Place; that all her Goods liable to confiscation be seized and confiscated, and that out of those which are not liable to Confiscation, the Sum of eight hundred Livres be levied, to be applied to the buying Bread for the poor Prisoners in the *Conciergerie*.

THUS the *Countess de St. Geran* after many Years Fatigue, at last succeeded in her Desires, and after losing for so many Years her only Son and Heir, at last recovered him; and with him the Satisfaction of being a Mother, and seeing her own and her Husband's Estates, descend to this single Pledge of their Loves. Such however was the Tendernefs of this excellent Lady, and so much was she resolved to do Justice to the young Count, that she declared publickly to the Court, if their Sentence went against her, and he was declared

to be not her Son, she would immediately espouse him, in Order to give him a legal Title to all her Effects. In the Year 1667, the young *Count* married *Claudia Francisca Magdalen de Varignies*, only Daughter of *Francis de Monfreville* and *Margaret de Jordain de Carbonel de Canisi*; he had only one Daughter, born in the Year 1688, who became a Nun; the Count himself died at the Age of Fifty-five, and in him extinguished this noble Family.



CASE



C A S E IV.

-Of Mary Margaret de Aubray, Marchioness de Brinvillier, convicted for having poisoned her Father, her two Brothers, and for having attempted the Life of her Sister ; in which this remarkable Question is discussed : Whether a Confession, written in order to be revealed to a Priest, may be produced in Evidence against a Person accused. To which also is added, the French King's famous Edict, against Witches, Poisoners, &c. with various curious Histories on these Subjects.



JUSTICE from Time to Time cuts off the Persons, and exposes the Crimes of the guilty, so as to exhibit astonishing Spectacles, to the Eyes of the honest Part of Mankind, and to shock their Souls with the Manifestation of extravagant Offences, such as are repugnant not only to the Laws of Man and the Duty of Religion, but to the common Sentiments of Humanity, and that Sense of Tenderness and Shame implanted in the human Soul, as soon as it is capable of comprehending and comparing Ideas ; of this Species of wretched Creatures,

was

was the *Marchioness de Brinvillier*, who though a Person noble both by Birth and Marriage, yet from the Iniquity of her Life, manifested in a long Series of the blackest Actions, she scarce deserves the Name of a Woman. Her Process amazed all *France*, and even rung througout all *Europe*; the following History thereof cannot therefore fail, of affording a pleasing Amusement, to a curious and inquisitive Reader, on which Account it was thought worthy of a Place in this Collection.

THE Person who is the Subject of this History, was the Daughter of *M. Dreux d' Aubray*, *Lieutenant Civil*; she was married in 1651, to the *Marquis de Brinvillier*, Son to *M. de Gobelin*, *President to the Chamber of Accounts*. Their Fortune was suitable to their Birth; for the *Marquis* enjoyed an Estate of thirty thousand Livres a Year, and the Lady brought him two hundred thousand for her Portion, or to make this plainer to the *English* Reader, he had two thousand five hundred Pounds *per Annum*: And she a Fortune of about sixteen thousand Pounds.

THE *Marquis de Brinvillier* was *Mestre de Camp* to the Regiment of *Normandy*, and during the War, he entered into an Acquaintance with the *Sieur Godin*, who went generally by the Name of *St. Croix*, a Captain of Horse in the Regiment of *Traffi*, he was the natural Son of a Person of Distinction, only he did not carry his Father's Name, that the Blemish of his Birth might be as much as possible concealed. This Man had a Soul capable of the most horrid Crimes, and at the same endued with so much Art, as to be able to cover them

them under the fairest Appearance imaginable. The *Marquis* introduced him at his House, where though he first set his Foot as a Friend to the Husband, yet he soon after became the Intimate of his Wife, and by Degrees a passionate Lover, who by his Address and Assiduity, quickly inspired those Sentiments into her which he felt in his own Breast. The *Marquis* was so odd a Creature, that he quite overlooked the Conduct of his Wife and her Gallant. *St. Croix*, in order to make himself more necessary to her, and that he might have her Effects the better in his Power, put her on applying for a Separation from her Husband, on Account of his Extravagance which had brought his Affairs into great Confusion. This as she had full Proofs she very easily obtained, and thereby shook off entirely every Dependence on the *Marquis*, which was a Thing the more satisfactory to her, because she was now wholly unrestrained, and not obliged to put any Bounds to her Passion.

THE Reader will doubtless expect, that we should here give him some Account, of the Person of this extraordinary Lady ; Nature had been by no means unkind to her, but on the contrary, had adorned her with Charms sufficient to make her Mistress of any Heart, her Face was round but very handsome, and all her Features extremely regular and pleasing. But the Beauty of her Person, served only to make the Blackness of her Heart the more conspicuous ; as to her Shape it was very good, her Height no way remarkable, on the Whole it may be justly said, no one could look less what she was than she. The Noise which
her

her scandalous Commerce with *St. Croix*, made all over the Town, obliged *M. de Aubray* her Father, who saw with Shame, the Insensibility of her Husband, to obtain a *Lettre de Cachet*; whereby he had Power to arrest *St. Croix*, which accordingly he caused to be put in Execution, as that Gentleman was driving through the Streets, with the *Marchioness* in her Coach. He was immediately carried to the *Bastile*, and there is no Necessity for painting the Distraction and Dispair of these Lovers, which the Reader can easier guess than we describe. In the Prison, *St. Croix* entered into a strict Intimacy with one *Exili* an *Italian*, who was perfectly well skilled in the abominable Mystery of making, mixing, and administering *Poisons*; from this Wretch *St. Croix* learned his Art, for which he became afterwards so justly infamous himself.

AFTER about a Year's Confinement he regained his Liberty, and at the same Time *Exili* also came out of Prison. *St. Croix* took him Home with him, that he might at Leisure perfect himself in all the Secrets of his diabolical Profession. *St. Croix*, immediately renewed his Conversation with the *Marchioness*; but however, he did not manage it with the same Confidence as before, the Lovers took Care to preserve Appearances so well, that the Lady found a Way to be restored to her Father's Favour. *St. Croix* communicated to her the Secrets which he had learned from the *Italian*, Revenge and Covetousness wrought so strongly on the Minds of these two unhappy Persons, that they extinguished all Sense of Religion, and even the Seeds of natural Affection, insomuch, that they

readily determined to destroy her *Father*, and all her *Family*.

TO be capable of Crimes of such a Nature, Men must have Souls of a Turn different from those of the rest of the World ; the Wickedness of these two Persons seem'd to have fitted them for each other, and for the Destruction of other People. The End which they proposed by these *Poisonings*, was to render the *Marchioness* the *Heiress* of her *Family*, which once effected, St. *Croix* made no Doubt, but as he was Master of the Lady's Heart, he should likewise absolutely possess that *Fortune*, of which, by these Practices, she was to become *Mistress*.

SHE made several Experiments with the *Poisons*, which St. *Croix* had composed, she mixed them in the *Biscuits*, which she gave to the *Poor*, and took a great deal of Pains in enquiring what Effects they produced ; she even went herself to the *Hotel de Dieu*, and there gave away these poison'd *Manchets*. By these Practices she grew herself accomplished in this detestable *Science*. She could not forbear trying her Art at Home, for she gave to her Gentlewoman, *Frances Roussel*, some poison'd *Gooseberries*, and a Slice of *Ham* season'd in the same way, the Girl grew very Sick, and suffered very much by this base Attempt, but however she did not *die*.

THE *Lieutenant Civil* went to *Offremont*, his *Country Seat*, there it was that she perpetrated the horrid Design, she had conceived of putting him out of the World. She gave *Poison* in some *Broth* which

which she presented to her Father, and she did it with so good Will, that it produced immediately most violent Effects, *hideous Vomitings, intollerable Pains* in the *Stomach*, and *racking Heats* in the *Bowels*. What a hardened Spirit must this Woman have, not only to be guilty of such a Fact, but to persevere in it with so much Constancy and Coolness, as to baffle all the Suspicions which naturally arise on sudden and violent Death!

THE *Lieutenant Civil* was obliged to return to *Paris*, where in a very short Time his Constitution yielded to the Force of his Daughter's *Poison*; his Death was strange; but as no Body had a Suspicion of its true Cause, the *Marchioness* was encouraged to attempt the *Life* of her *Eldest Brother*, who succeeded his *Father* in his *Office*; and of her *Younger* also, who was at that Time a *Councillor* in the *Parliament* of *Paris*.

It happened one Evening, that having drank more freely than she was wont, the *Marchioness* went to repose herself in her Chamber, there she had the Imprudence to shew a Woman, who came some Times to the House, a *little Box*, which she took out of her *Cabinet*, and to say, *I have in this what will revenge me of my Enemies, and bring me Inheritances enough*. The Woman saw in that *Box*, *Sublimate* in *Powder* and in *Passe*, which she knew very well, being the Daughter of an *Apothecary*. Thus Wine opens the deepest Secrets of the Heart.

SEVEN or Eight Hours after, when she had recovered her Senses, she recollected what had

past, and in order to cover it, told the same Woman, *That she did not know what she said, when she talk'd of Inheritances*; she always took great Care of her Cabinet, and affected to have a great Confidence in this Woman, she desired her, in Case she should die, to take that *Casket*, and throw it into the Fire. At certain Times, when she was either chagrin'd, on Account of Persons whom she had made away, or was in a violent Rage against any other she supposed had done her Wrong, very odd Things would escape her, she would say, *She knew how to get rid of whoever disturbed or offended her, and that when she pleased, she could make a Porringer of Broth that would do as sudden and sure Execution as a Pistol Bullet.* Thus out of the abundance of a corrupt Heart the Mouth speaketh.

THEIR Schemes beginning now to ripen, the *Marchioness* and *St. Croix* resolved to make Use of a certain Wretch, whose hardened Wickedness and Capacity for any Crime, they were perfectly acquainted with, and Him they pitched on to *Poison* her two Brothers. This Villain was called *La Chaussé*, he had been a *Footman* to *St. Croix*, and in that honourable Station had perfected himself in every sort of Vice. This Rogue she had Interest enough to introduce into the Service of her Brother the *Counsellor*, who lived in the same House with the *Lieutenant Civil*. The *Marchioness* took Care to conceal that he had ever lived with *St. Croix*, otherwise he could never have entered the House.

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THIS Varlet, won by the Promise of an Hundred Pistoles, as soon as the Thing was done, and knowing that they must take Care of him all the rest of his Life, came presently into their Measures, and having put the *Poison* they gave him into a Glass of Wine and Water, he presented it to the *Lieutenant Civil* at Dinner. That Magistrate had no sooner drank it, than he cry'd out, *Wretch, what have you given me! I believe I am poison'd!* He then set down the Glass, and refused to drink any more of it; he then bid his Secretary examine it, who tasting a little of it in a Spoon, said he found somewhat of *Vitriol* in it.

THE Villain, who had given it, excused himself without the least Confusion, by pretending that the Counsellor's *Valet de Chambre* had taken some Medicine out of the Glass, which he forgetting to wipe it, from thence retailed an ill taste. By this Story he got off only with a slight Reprimand for his Negligence, and Caution not to commit such a Fault for the Future.

HONEST Men are not apt to suspect others, much less are they prone, upon slight Accidents, to apprehend terrible Contrivances; thus Virtue lays its Votaries open to the Vices of others, and this is one of the Advantages which the Children of Darkness have over the Children of Light.

AT *Easter*, which fell out in the Beginning of April, 1670, the *Lieutenant Civil* went into *Bea-usse*, to his Estate of *Villequoy*, in order to pass the Holidays there, and the Counsellor being of the

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Party, carried *la Chauffe* with him; one Day at Dinner, there was a *Tourte de Beattles*, that is, a *Pye* made of *Sweetbreads*, *Cocks-combs*, and other *Tit-bits*, which is the literal *English* of the Word, *Beattles*; seven Persons who eat of that *Pye*, among whom were the *Lieutenant Civil* and his Brother, were immediately taken ill; whereas those who eat none of it continued in perfect Health.

THE *Lieutenant Civil* and the *Counsellor* were seized with severe Vomitings; on the 12th of *April*, they returned from *Villequoy* to *Paris*, the *Lieutenant Civil* looked as if he had been emaciated by a long Sickness, and the *Counsellor*, his Brother, looked very little better. The 20th of *April*, *St. Croix*, that he might be sure of something, obliged the *Marchioness* to promise him under her Hand Thirty Thousand *Livres*, or Two Thousand Five Hundred Pounds.

THE *Lieutenant Civil* grew daily worse and worse, and after languishing a long Time, he fell into a Distaste of all Sorts of Meats, which could be offered him; then his Vomitings returned, and became continual, and Nature being at last quite worn out, he died on the 17th of *June*, without any *Fever*; the three last Days of his Life, he looked very ghastly, complained of a prodigious Drought, and of a flaming Heat in his Stomach. Upon opening his Body, the last-mention'd Part, and the *Duodenum* were black, ready to crumble to Pieces, the *Liver* gangreen'd, and as it were scorched up.

ST. Croix wrote the *Marchioness* an Account of this into the Country, and told her withal, that from an Appearance of the same Symptoms, it was not at all to be doubted, but that the *Counsellor* would soon follow his Brother; those who were present at the opening of the *Lieutenant Civil*, were clearly of Opinion, that he was poison'd; but tho' this made some Noise, yet as they were utterly ignorant of the true Source of this barbarous Fact, no Body was named.

TIME made it manifest that St. Croix judged right, as to the *Counsellor's* Indisposition, in three Months he gave up the Ghost, after suffering all that his Brother had done before him. His Body also was opened, whereby it appeared that his *Stomach* and *Liver* were black, and as it were consumed with Heat; the poor Gentleman, died with so little Suspicion of the true Author of his unhappy End, that he left *la Chaussée*, by his Will, a Legacy of an Hundred Crowns.

THERE remained nothing now, but the poisoning of the young *Madam d'Aubray*, to accomplish the Conspirators End; but she, warned by the Fate of her Family, began to take apparent Precautions, and yet, tho' she had the strongest and justest Suspicions of the *Marchioness*, she had the Generosity to treat her kindly under her Misfortunes, and send her considerable Sums of Money.

THESE sudden Deaths, and the Circumstances which attended them, by Degrees came more and more the Topick of publick Conversation, and it was no longer doubted but that the *Father* and two *Sons* were *poison'd*; but as to the Perpetrator of this horrible Crime, all the Conjectures about them were vain, and quite beside the Truth.

As for *la Chauffee*, he had the good Luck to escape the Notice of every Body; for as his Master had taught him how to commit Crimes, so he had likewise instructed him in the Art of concealing, and of appearing in a Family he had so deeply injured the most faithful and deserving Domestick, which belonged thereto; but though these Artifices were capable of hiding from the Eyes of Men, a Transaction so black and so terrible in its Nature, yet it escaped not the Eye of Providence, which by the following unforeseen Accident, disclosed it, and all its Circumstances to the World.

SAINT CROIX after all these horrid Effects of his Poisons, was still meditating new Crimes, to which End he was every Day making new Experiments in his abominable Science. One Day while he was thus employed, the Glass-Mask which he wore, to preserve himself from the Fumes of those dangerous Drugs he made Use of fell off, and he was in a Moment suffocated, by the Smell of the Poisons he was preparing; thus this wretched *Artizan* perished by his own Devices. This sudden Death of a Man whose Relations
were

were not known, caused the sending for a Commissary, who as soon as he came put his Seal upon the Apartment of the deceased. When they came to make an Inventory, they found a Cabinet which they opened, and the first Thing they saw therein, was a Paper containing these Words :

I Most humbly beg those into whose Hands this Cabinet may fall, that they would do me the Favour to put it into the Hands of Madam the Marchioness of Brinvillier, living in the New-street of St. Paul ; because every thing therein belongs to her, and cannot be of any Use to any other Person in the World. In Case she should be dead before this is found, I desire it, and all that is therein, may be burnt without opening, or meddling with any of its Contents. And to the End that they may not pretend Ignorance, I swear by the God that I adore, and by all that is most sacred, that I say nothing which is not strictly true. And if they dare to do any thing contrary to so just and reasonable Intentions, I charge it on their Conscience, in this World and in the World to come, in order to discharge my own ; protesting that, this is my last Will, made at Paris the 25th of May in the Afternoon 1673, Signed de St. Croix ; and lower was written these Words, Packet addressed to Mr. Penautier, who is requested to carry it.

It is strange, that St. Croix should pretend to lay a Restraint, upon the Consciences of those into whose Hands his Cabinet might fall, and vainly hope, that this would hinder their penetrating into this Mystery of Iniquity, and fright them from discovering what were the Contents of this Casket. Was it possible, for him to fancy,

that he could obtrude upon the World so absurd a Notion, as that he had any Religion, whose Soul had been immerfed in Crimes of the deepeft Dye? The following is an exact Catalogue of the Drugs contained in St. Croix's Cabinet.

I N V E N T O R Y.

IMPRIMIS, *There was found a Packet, sealed with eight Seals, charged with different Coats of Arms, whereon was written, " Papers to be burnt in Case of Death, being of no Consequence to any Body; I humbly intreat those into whose Hands they fall to burn them; and I charge this upon their Conscience, without opening the Packet". In this Packet was also found two others, filled with Sublimate.*

ITEM, *another Packet sealed with Seals of different Arms, in which was contained nothing but Sublimate, to the Weight of half a Pound.*

ITEM, *another Packet, sealed with six Seals of different Arms, on which was the same Inscription, and in it there were found three Packets, of which the first contained half an Ounce of Sublimate, the second two Ounces, and a Quarter of an Ounce of Roman Vitriol, in the third, Vitriol calcined and prepared.*

IN this Cabinet there was also found a large Vial of flint Glass, holding a Quart of a clear Water, which being carried to Mr. Maureau a Physician,

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cian, he declared, he was not able to say what were its Properties, until he had made some Experiment.

ITEM, another glass Bottle, holding a Gallon of clear Water, at the Bottom of which was a whitish Seddiment ; concerning which, Dr. Maureau gave his Opinion as of the former. A little Gally-pot, in which was contained two or three Drams of prepared Opium.

ITEM, a Paper doubled, in which was contained two Drachms of corrosive Sublimate in Powder, a little Box in which was a Piece of Stone called, Lapis infernalis.

A Paper containing an Ounce of Opium, another containing a piece of the Regulus of Antimony, weighing three Ounces ; a Packet of Powder rouled up, on which was written, "To stop a Flux of Blood in Women". Dr. Maureau said, that it was a Powder made of the Flower of Quinces, which for that Purpose had been dried.

ITEM, There was found a Packet sealed with six Seals, on which was the same Inscription before recited, in it were found twenty-seven Pieces of Paper, in each of which was written, " More curious Secrets".

ITEM, Another Packet, containing six sealed Parcels with the first recited Inscription, in which were found seventy-five Pounds of Sublimate, divided into several Parcels, with particular Directions.

T H E R E was found in the same Cabinet, several passionate Letters which the *Marchioness* had wrote to St. *Croix*, the most extraordinary amongst them was that which follows.

I Find it proper to put an End to my Life, to which Purpose I shall take this Evening what you gave me to lay up so carefully ; you will perceive by this that I make a Sacrifice to you of my Life : But I make you no Promise before I die, that I will meet you somewhere to take a last Adieu.

I N all Probability she imposed upon St. *Croix* in what she wrote on this Subject ; for People if they once suffer themselves to reflect, seldom or never proceed in such Enterprizes. In the same Cabinet they found the Promise of thirty thousand Livres, which the *Marchioness* had given St. *Croix* under her Hand. That Lady was prodigiously alarmed when she heard, that they had put a Seal upon his Effects, she forgot nothing which it was possible to do, for the getting this fatal Cabinet into her Hands ; to which Purpose she attempted to corrupt the Commissary, but all her Efforts were in vain. But when she was informed, that St. *Croix* had mentioned her, and that he had even left it under his Hand, that she had a Right to demand this Cabinet, from those who should get it into their Hands, she wisely determined to follow the Advice of her Relations, and to withdraw from a Storm which she was not able to weather ; accordingly she quitted her Lodgings in the Night, and took all the Measures she possibly could to get out of the Kingdom. In the mean Time *la Chaussée* had

had the Imprudence to interpose, and to do all in his Power to hinder the sealing up of St. *Croix's* Effects. He pretended, that he had served the Deceased seven Years, and that he had put into his Hands hundred Pistoles, and a hundred Crowns in Silver, that this Money was tyed up in a silk Purse with a Note, wherein it was acknowledged to be his, and several other pieces of Paper relating to his Affairs, which therefore he insisted should be delivered to him, and thereby drew on himself these Suspensions, which however guilty he had hitherto escaped.

BUT while the *Marchioness* endeavoured to get out of the Reach of Justice, her Lawyer appeared before the Commissary, and informed him, that the *Marchioness de Brinvillier* was very much surprized to hear, that St. *Croix* had left behind him a Promise of her's in Writing, to pay him thirty Thousand Livres, that she could prove this Promise was drawn from her by Surprise, and that therefore she protested against it as null and void, and a Thing she would never comply with.

LA CHAUSSE, by the Means he had taken, upon the sealing up of his Master's Effects, drew upon himself great Misfortunes and awakened in his Soul strong Pangs of Remorse, for such is the Constitution of human Minds, that when ever they have been guilty of atrocious Facts they are altogether Strangers to Peace, and maintain in themselves a Tormentor, more cruel and inexorable than any into whose Hands they may fall, by the Judgment of the Law. *La Chaussée* was apprehended, and his Process begun at the *Chatalet*, at the Suit of the Lady *Mangot de Villarteau*, Widow of the

the late Lieutenant Civil; he was immediately adjudged to the Question, *i. e.* the Torture. But the Lady *Mangot de Villarceau*, took Care to interpose an Appeal, in Case *La Chaussee* should be acquitted, on his confessing nothing on the Rack; for she knew that the Parliament would proceed strictly on such Proofs as should be produced before them, whereas the inferior Courts are generally timorous and unsteady, from an Apprehension of having their Proceedings reviewed and critically examin'd, by the superior Judges. However, Sentence was pronounced at the *Tournelle*, whereby *La Chaussee* was convicted and attainted, for having poisoned the late Lieutenant Civil and the *Counsellor*, for which he was adjudged to be broken alive, and to expire upon the Wheel, after having been again tortured to discover his Accomplices. The *Marchioness de Brinvillier* was at the same time condemned for her Contumacy to be Beheaded.

LA CHAUSSEE being put to the Question, declared, that *St. Croix* had told him, the *Marchioness de Brinvillier* had furnished him with the Poison which was given to your Brothers; he likewise acknowledged, that they were poisoned in Water and in Broths, that he had put in a reddish kind of Liquor into the Glass, which he presented to the *Lieutenant Civil* at Dinner, and a clear Water into the *Tourte* which was served up at *Villequoy*. That *St. Croix* promised him a hundred Pistoles, and always to take Care of him, and that he always gave an Account to *St. Croix* of the Poisons, who affirmed, that the Lady *Brinvillier* did not know how they were employed. *St. Croix* it seems, had a Mind to be the sole Master of the *Marchioness's*

chioness's Secret, and in all Probability had forgot, that he had told his Servant that she gave him the Poisons.

BUT *la Chauffee* was clearly of Opinion, that whatever his Master said, she was perfectly well acquainted with what they did ; because whenever he went to her she talked to him of Poisons, and persuaded him, after the Death of the Brothers, to go out of the way, and even gave him Money for that Purpose. *St. Croix* had a great Mind to poison *Mademoiselle D'Aubray*, Sister to the *Marchioness*, to which End he was at great Pains to introduce a Domestick, who might be as faithful to her as this Tool had been to her Brothers. This Confession made it very probable that *La Chauffee* had repeated his Practices on the *Lieutenant Civil* and the *Counsellor*, 'till they had the desired Effect. This Wretch was Executed as he deserved.

THERE is one Circumstance necessary to give us a perfect Idea of that horrid Degree to which the Heart of this Villain was corrupted, and which ought not therefore to be omitted. Whenever he was asked how Monsieur *D'Aubray*, the Counsellor his Master did, he was wont to answer, *O ! He is as Sick as can be wished ! He won't give us a great deal of Trouble ; but I cannot tell you precisely when he will kick up !* And when, after his Demise, he was put into his Winding-Sheet, this Varlet expressed himself in these Words. *Well ! He is dead ! and I am just come from winding him up ! I have turned him, and turned him ! If he had been alive, I would not have done so much for him.*

him. Yet we have heard that his Master left this Villain a Legacy of a hundred Crowns; how was his Liberality misplaced, and how obdurate must the Heart of this Wretch be, whom all the Tenderness of so indulgent a Master could not move?

ALL the World was now persuaded that the *Marchioness* was guilty, and the Idea conceived of the Crimes, of which she had been the Authoress, struck every Body's Mind with so much Horror, that the very pronouncing of her Name was sufficient to set People a trembling.

THIS wretched Woman imagined that she should find an inviolable Sanctuary at *Liege*, and therefore had taken up her Abode in that City. All Sovereigns are wont to protect such Strangers as take Shelter in their Dominions, and the maintaining their Authorities in this Respect, is thought an indispensable Right of independant Princes; but it is however agreed, that *Poisoners* and *Coiners* are every where to be excluded from this Favour.

DES GRAY, Exempt of the *Marshalsea*, was dispatched to *Liege*, in order to seize the *Marchioness*; he was escorted by a small Troop of *Archers*, and was furnished with the King's Letter, addressed to the Council of Sixty in that City, whereby he demanded that the Criminal should be delivered up, in order to be punished. *Des Gray* made it appear to them that she had been privy to the poisoning of several Persons. The Council heard him with Attention, and in the End gave him Leave to seize her.

How-

HOWEVER that Officer was afraid of taking her out of the *Convent*, to which she had retired, as fearing that it would create a Sedition in the Town, and prevent his carrying her off at all. He went in Disguise to the *Monastery*, he passed himself upon the *Marchioness* for a *Frenchman*, who came to see her out of Curiosity. He made her several Visits, and at last began to talk in the Style of a Gallant, he managed his Affairs so well, that he met with a favourable Reception from her, and engaged her at last to go and take a Walk with him a little Way out of Town.

WHEN they were in the Fields, her Lover changed of a sudden into an *Exempt*, who arrested her immediately, and having put her into the Hands of his *Archers*, posted in a proper Place for that very End, he returned to the *Convent*, which he entered by Virtue of an Order obtained from the Council of Sixty. He went directly to the *Marchioness's* Appartment, and upon her Bed found a Casket, which she afterwards endeavoured to get from him in vain.

SHE expressed the utmost Uneasiness (and indeed well she might) about a Paper contained therein, it was addressed to her *Confessor*, and contained five or six Sheets, being the Memoirs of her Life. In the very first Article of it she confessed that she had set Fire to a House, in another she owned that she was debauched at Seven Years of Age; in a Word, she accused herself, not only of all the Crimes with which she was charged, but also a great many others, of which she was not so much as suspected.

SHE

SHE found out one of the *Archers* who loved Money, him she corrupted, and put into his Hands a Letter, which she desired him to carry to one *M. Theria*, a Person of his Acquaintance, by which Epistle she besought him to make use of some Means or other to get her out of the Hands of *Des Gray*, and his little Troop. She trusted to the same *Archer* another Letter, addressed likewise to *Theria*, wherein she informed him that *Des Gray's* Guard of *Archers* consisted but of eight Persons, and that five Men might easily attack them, and procure her Liberty. These Letters not producing any Effect, she wrote a third Epistle to the same Man, conjuring him to come to her, and if he could not rescue her by Force, that he would at least cause the two fore Horses of the Coach, in which she travelled, to be shot, and thereby gain an Opportunity of getting into his Hands the little Casket, which she directed him to throw into the Fire, otherwise she told him she should be undone.

THOUGH *Theria* never received any of these Letters, yet he came to *Mastricht*, a Place through which he knew the *Marchioness* must pass, he endeavoured to corrupt the Guard of *Archers*, but in vain, notwithstanding his offering them a thousand *Pistoles* to let her slip through their Hands. She next attempted to destroy herself, by swallowing a Needle; but she was prevailed on to desist from her Design, by an *Archer*, who discovered what she was about to do. It was evident that the Dread of her Punishment affrighted her much more than any Concern she had through a just Sense

Sense of her Crime ; for such is the Nature of Criminals, hardened like her, that they are equally Regardless of their Souls, and fearful of what may happen to their Bodies.

AFTER she was committed Prisoner to the *Conciergerie* at *Paris*, a Letter was intercepted, which she had written to the *Sieur Penautier*, in which she told him how much she apprehended her Life to be in Danger ; she likewise gave him an Account of what Steps she had hitherto taken in Respect to the Process formed against her, acknowledging nothing, but dissembling all, notwithstanding the Circumstances that appeared against her ; she entreated his Sentiments on this Behaviour of hers, and desired at the same Time, that he would give her his best Advice, as to what she had best to do for the future, and that he would employ the Interest of all his Friends on her behalf.

WHEN she came to be examined, she answered every Interrogation negatively, she disowned the Letters which she had written before her Flight, and those she had written since her being apprehended, and she would not be brought to know any Thing about the Casket, which *St. Croix* had so earnestly desired should be put into her Hands. As to the Note she had given *St. Croix* for thirty thousand *Livres*, she insisted that it was done merely to make his Creditors easy, and that she had another Writing from him to indemnify her ; but that by some Accident she had lost it upon the Road.

M. NIVELLE, a celebrated Advocate, published a *Factum* in Defence of the *Marchioness*, in which he considered this Question, *Whether it be lawful to produce a Confession, put into Writing by a Person accused, in order to be delivered to a Confessor, as Evidence against the Person who wrote it ?* Before he entered into an express Discussion of the Points in Debate, he endeavoured to give some favourable Impressions of the *Marchioness de Brinvillier*, to such as should read his Paper. He said that St. *Croix* was the Dæmon which had raised this Tempest, and troubled the Quiet of the Lady's Family ; he owned that by his great Assiduity, he had gained an Ascendant over the *Marchioness's* Temper, by making himself necessary in the Management of her Affairs.

HE blamed her for having placed her Confidence in so horrible a Villain ; but he excused her again, by observing that St. *Croix* had an Art peculiar to himself, in hiding his ill Qualities, and putting on the Appearances of good ones, so that it was no Wonder he imposed upon a Woman, and cheated, with a Shew of Virtue, a Person who had no suspicion. He observed that St. *Croix* was incensed against the Family of Mr. *D'Aubray*, for causing him to be imprisoned, that this inspired him with the cruel Design of revenging himself upon his two Sons, whom he procured to be poisoned by the Agency of *la Chaussee* ; that he had never trusted the *Marchioness* with his fatal Secret, having formed in his own Heart a Design of making himself Master of the whole Effects of the Family.

HE

HE recounted, in few Words, the miserable Fate of the wretched *la Chauffée*, who fell a Victim to his own Crimes, and those of his Master. He pretended that the *Marchioness*, finding herself included in the Accusation, retired indeed, but not with a View to fly from Justice ; but merely to avoid being torn to Pieces by her Creditors, who, incensed by the Stories they had heard, came upon her without Mercy.

IN Justification of the Charge, he said that two Sorts of Proof had been offered against his Client, *viz. Testimonies Viva Voce*, and in *writing* he insisted that the more atrocious, and the more horrible Crimes were, the more strong, the more clear, and the more convincing the Proofs of them ought to be ; for this he quoted St. *Cyprian*, who makes Use of this Passage : *Quanto majora sunt Crimina, tanto magis idoneis et indubitatis testibus indigere*. He insisted, that inasmuch as this was an Accusation brought against a Person of good Family, and excellent Education, it was to be presumed that both these would guard her from becoming the Instrument of such horrid Offences, that even the meanest Souls are apt to start at such black Crimes as these, and therefore it was to be believed, Persons well born and bred, would never be drawn into it ; and from this Presumption he argued, that the Proofs, offered in Support of the Process, ought to be the stronger.

IN the next Place he attacks the Testimonies, *Viva Voce*, he found, he said but *three* Depositions which deserved to be taken Notice of, the first
was

was that of *Cluet Sergeant*, who deposed that the *Marchioness* told him, *That she did not value the Death of her elder Brother; that if she had pleased she could have had him assassinated by Gentlemen, on the Road to Orleans, when he was going thither in Quality of Intendant; that she would have given Fifty Louis d'Ors to have got the Casket into her Hands, after the Death of St. Croix. That she had done all that lay in her Power to have it put into her Hands in his Life-time, and that in Case she had succeeded, she would immediately have caused St. Croix's Throat to be cut.*

THE Advocate insisted on the Improbability there was, that a Woman, capable of such Crimes as the *Marchioness* was charged with, should ever enter into a Conversation of this Sort, with a Fellow of so little Consequence, as the Witness, from whom therefore she could not hope for Secrecy; and that as to the earnest Desire she had to get *St. Croix's Cabinet* into her Hands, it might very probably arise from her wanting several Papers which she knew were contained therein. He objected to the Depositions of two other Witnesses, because they did not set forth Matters of which they were Eye-Witnesses, but only Hear-says and Conjectures, on which he insisted no certain Judgment could be made.

As for the Passion, which the *Marchioness* had for *St. Croix*, he said, if the Truth of it was to be admitted, it would not prove any Thing, with respect to the Crimes she stood accused of; for certainly, tho' a Heart may be prone to Love, it does not follow that it is capable of Poisonings and Murders.

Murders. He insisted strongly on the dying Words of *la Chauffee*, who had declared the Marquis St. *Croix* had said, that the *Marchioness* was not privy to the Poisoning of her Brothers; in order to give this the greater Weight, he expatiated on the Credit due to a Person speaking with Death staring him in the Face. He observed that in that Instant the most guilty, the most wicked Person was to be believed; because it is not to be conceived that human Nature could be capable of so gross an Impiety, as daring the Almighty God, in the very Article of Death, by obstinately persisting in a Story opposite to Truth.

IN Respect to the Paper found in the Cabinet of St. *Croix*, wherein he declared, that it, and all therein, belonged to the *Marchioness*; our Advocate laboured to shew, by the Date which was upon the Paper, and those on the Inscriptions on the Papers, in which the Poisons were enclosed, that the latter were placed there after the former, and therefore it could not be supposed that the Declaration related to them. That as the Casket had likewise in it several *Billet-doux* of the *Marchioness's*, which might be of ill Consequence, in Respect of her Reputation, St. *Croix* doubtless wrote that Paper, with an Intent to prevent their appearing, and therefore the Directions for burning, without looking upon them, ought to be apply'd to these Papers, and not those in which the Poisons were contained.

HE farther took Notice, that if these amorous Letters were Proofs of the *Marchioness's* Passion for this wicked Man, they were likewise Proofs
that

that she would hide nothing from him, and that consequently since no Traces were found in them of her being privy to the Death of her Brethren, it was the strongest Evidence the Nature of the Thing would allow, that she was really ignorant thereof, or of the Manner in which they were procured.

THESE Points premised, the *Orator* came next to that fatal Confession, in which all the horrid Crimes, committed by the *Marchioness de Brinvillier*, were clearly, fully and minutely set forth, under her own Hand, and that voluntary, and for the Sake only of discharging her Conscience.

IN this Confession which began with these Words, *I confess to Almighty God, and to you my Father*, she accused herself of having poisoned her Father and two Brothers, and having attempted to poison her Sister.

M. NEVILLE undertook to prove, that this Accusation could not by any Means be made Use of in a judicial Process against his Client; because that Law which commands whatever is discovered under the Seal of Confession, to be kept in inviolable Secrecy, absolutely takes away all Possibility of producing Confessions if written, or of giving Evidence as to the Effect of them, *vive voce*, to serve any Purpose in civil Life.

THIS indispensable Law, he said was imposed by *Jesus Christ* himself, at the same time that he gave Command for the revealing Sins to a Confessor. Were it not for this Law of Secrecy, who
would

would dare to approach the Confessional ; it is manifest therefore, that it is so annexed to the Precept, that it is an essential Condition thereof. It is apparent that as *Jesus Christ* called Sinners to the Tribunal of Penitence there, to afford them Mercy, he could never intend to put their Honour, their Reputations, and even their Lives in Danger, as they must be, on the revealing certain Sins. For how could the procuring such Evils be reconciled to the Goodness of our heavenly Father, which shines no where more conspicuously than in that Tribunal. And as to written Confessions, they are made from the said Motives, and are used to the same End with those orally delivered, and therefore the same Obligations to Secrecy lye upon the Priest, and whoever else comes to the Knowledge of them which are written, as are incumbent upon such as hear Confessions delivered, *viva voce*. Nothing can be a plainer Proof of this Injunction of Secrecy coming from Christ himself, than the Want of any such Injunctions among the Rules settled in the Primitive Ages ; for if in those early Times this was always looked on as a thing settled, it is a Demonstration that it was enjoined when Confession was commanded, and that both are therefore equally to be observed.

M. NEVILLE comparing this Sacramental Confession of a Person accused, with the Confession required by a Court of Justice, said that the first was instituted by God for the Absolution of Sins, the latter established by human Wisdom, in order to their being properly punished ; the first is the sweet Refuge of the Offender, the second the strongest Conviction of the Criminal ; the one is the Organ

of the Sinner's Safety, the other Instrument of the Confessor's Ruin. He cited in Support of this, the following beautiful Passage from St. *Ambrose*, *Qui confitetur Peccata sua coram Deo, agnoscit Peccator, Ignoscit Deus; cum accusat excusatur*. In confessing his Sins to God, the Sinner revives the Memory of them; God blots it out, he accuses himself, and is excused by his Creator.

S T. BASIL is one of the first of the Fathers who takes Notice of the Custom of the Church, to put an inviolable Seal on the Secrets of Confession, and all the Fathers and Councils who have mentioned that Precept, as a Doctrine observed in the primitive Ages, speak also of this Custom, as a Law practiced by the Apostles, and since their Time by the Catholick Church, as flowing immediately from the Holy Ghost. Since then the Church has not prescribed the keeping Confession secret as a Rule, but on the contrary, has always obeyed that Rule, as received from a superior Power, it is clear it could come from none but God. Let us proceed now, to establish what we have advanced by Authorities, in which we may serve our selves from the Collection made by *M. L'Abbe Languet du Frenoy*, in his Treatise on this Subject.

T H E general Council of *Lateran* held under *Innocent III.* at the End of the famous Canon, *omnes utriusque sexus*, uses these Words,, " The Priest ought to take the greatest Care, that he reveal not by Words, Signs, or any other manner, the Sins of his Penitent, if he has occasion to consult another Divine. He must however

" do

“ do it in such a manner, as perfectly to conceal
“ the Name of the Person. For we ordain, that
“ whoever shall dare to reveal the Sins confessed
“ to him in the Tribunal Penitence, shall not
“ only be degraded from the Priesthood, but shall
“ also be strictly imprisoned in a Monastery, there
“ to do Penance for the rest of his Life”.

T H I S Council did by no means pretend to establish the Rule of Secrecy ; but inflicted Pains and Penalties on such Confessors who should violate it either out of Malice or Indiscretion. Since then it abundantly appears, that the inviolable Seal of Secrecy was put on Confessions by *Jesus Christ* himself, it follows then, that in no Case this can be dispensed with by any Authority Ecclesiastical or Secular ; and that neither for the sake of the public Good, nor upon any Pretence whatever, can that be innocently published, which only on this Account was revealed.

I T is likewise clearly deducible from what has been said, that the Testimony of a Confessor revealing the Secret of his Penitent, cannot be received as Evidence in a Court of Justice ; for inasmuch as that was meant only as a Mark of Obedience to God, it can never be drawn into Judgment by Men, because before that can be done, the Laws of God must be broken through, which is Injustice of the highest kind.

So also the Confessor alone, is not responsible for the Concealment of this Secret, but even those to whose Ears it comes in any manner whatever. The same Law which ties down the Priest, ties
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those also to whom indiscreetly or wickedly he communicates Confessions. Thus in the Primitive Ages, when Confessions were made in a more publick Manner than they are now, every one was enjoined never to make the least mention of what he might hear fall from the Lips of his Neighbour, or to presume to reveal, what he took to be the Meaning of those Signs made Use of by Mutes at the Confessional, much less might they publish the Contents of a written Confession.

T H I S Obligation of concealing on all who come to the Knowledge of Confessions, is a natural Consequence of the divine Injunction of Confession ; for as God promises the Penitent, in order to draw him to that Duty, that whatsoever he revealed should never be published. It is plain that not the Confessor only, but all who gain the Knowledge of the Confession are tied down to inviolable Secrecy, otherwise the Penitent would be deceived by God himself, to whom he intended to confess, from a Confidence that it should never be revealed.

T H E Publisher therefore of a Confession renders the Sacrament in itself odious, and as far as in him lies, seeks to frustrate the Purpose of God, by driving those from that Tribunal whom his Maker had called to it.

T H E Perpetrator of such Wickedness intimidate all Consciences, and chace them from the Gates of Mercy, they banish above all the most grievous Sinners ; that is to say, those who of this Remedy have the greatest Need, in the present Case they
fright

fright away such as through the Weakness of their Memory, are obliged to write their Confessions, a Method so innocent, so lawful, that we can presume it suggested from nothing else than the Piety or Zeal of the Confessor, or the Commands of him who has the Direction of his Conscience ; without this Aid, how can full and perfect Confessions be performed, if Papers of this kind may be published, the Deaf and the Dumb are excluded from this Sacrament, and are shut out from the highest Satisfaction which a religious Soul can enjoy, that of Absolution from their Sins ?

FROM this great Principle it is clear, that all Means practiced in Order to Confession, ought to be privileged with inviolable Silence ; if what a Person has put into Writing solely with this View, could be produced in a judicial Process, it would be more dangerous to make written Confessions than oral ones ; because written Evidence is stronger in its Nature than Evidence *viva voce* ; this is so evident, that there is no need of producing Authorities to support it. It is false which has been so strongly insisted on of the other Side, that the Paper written by Madam *Brinwillier* is no more than the Minutes of a Confession, and not a Confession.

IT begins with these Words, *I Confess unto God, and to you my Father*. It is apparent then, that it is a true and real Confession ; besides, were it as they pretend, merely Minutes of a Confession, yet it ought to be Religiously concealed ; for as I have already said, all the necessary Steps to Confession are comprehended under the Law of

Secrecy, and ought to be covered with a Veil of Silence.

ST. *Thomas* (i. e. *Aquinas*) proposes a Case, where a Penitent had confess'd to a Person, supposing him a Priest, whereas he was not, and that Confession was over-heard by other Persons, he determines that in such a Case, the Persons hearing the Confession were obliged to conceal it, because the Penitent intended by Confessing, to reveal his Sins unto God, from whence the Duty of Secrecy originally springs, which therefore must be preserved wherever the Person confessing intends to confess to the Almighty only.

JOINVILLE, who was certainly no Priest, informs us, that once in a great Storm at Sea, several Lords confessed themselves to him, supposing that such a Confession, in Case of Necessity, might satisfy the Commands of the Church. *Joinville*, beyond Question, was obliged religiously to conceal the Sins, with which he was made acquainted on this occasion; for it is not the Person of the Minister, nor the Absolution pronounced by him, which imposes the Seal of Secrecy, it arises from the very Nature of Confession, and is indisputably annexed thereto.

WHAT can the Judges possibly alledge, in order to gain the Use of a Sacramental Confession of a Person accused, as a Piece of Evidence against him? will they pretend that in Right of their Offices, as Judges, they are the Depositories of Justice, and as it were the Instruments of God; this, as I shall shew, is a Pretence weak and frivolous

volous in itself, will they say that the Interest of the Publick requires it, and that all Things ought to yield thereto? I shall answer, will they dare to affirm, that these or any other Reasons ought to Ballance a Command flowing from *Jesus Christ* himself, in Support of the Sacrament of Penance, and which tends to the Salvation of Souls; we find in the very Name of *Christian*, which (thanks be to *God*) we all attribute to ourselves, a Light capable of shining through all these Clouds and Subterfuges; because, if we have any Title to that Name, we must make it a Rule with Us to prefer every Precept in the Law of *God*, to our Goods, our Lives, our Honour, all the Alliances of Flesh and Blood, and in one Word, to all our Interests particular and publick.

*RODERICK ACUNGH*A, an Archbishop of *Portugal*, in a Treatise he wrote of Confessions, reports a very singular Case of a Person at *Barcelona*, who was condemned to suffer Death for *Homicide*, which he refused to confess; when they were about to lead him out to Punishment, and solicited him earnestly, he yet refused, and would not be prevailed on by all that could be said to him. Those who were present imagined, that this Obstinacy was the Effect of that terrible Anguish and Confusion his Spirits are in, through the Fear of Death; they therefore gave Advice of this odd Fact to *St. Thomas of Villeneuve*, Archbishop of *Valentia*, where the Prisoner had committed the Crime, and where he was condemned.

THAT holy Prelate, being desirous to prevent the Loss of Soul and Body together, went to the

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Prisoner, and omitted no Arguments which he thought could possibly have any Weight; the Man heard him with Patience, but refused to comply, at last, when the Archbishop pressed him vehemently, he said plainly, that he had an Abhorrence for Confession, because that by Means thereof he was brought to lose his Life, his Confessor having revealed the Crime for which he was now to suffer; it happened that this Priest was the Brother of the Man I killed, and having learn't from me in Confession, not only that I was guilty of the Murder, but every Circumstance thereof, of these he gave Information to the Criminal Judges, and they from them traced out the whole Fact, and fix't it upon me.

ST. *Thomas de Villeneuve* rightly judging, that the Interest of Religion was of far greater Consequence than the Punishing of a *Homicide*, he sent for the Confessor, and asking him whether he had really been guilty of what the Prisoner charged him with, and whether what he revealed was the sole Cause of his being convicted and condemned, the Confessor owned it was so; whereupon the Archbishop obliged the Judges, to revoke their Sentence, and, inasmuch as there was no other Proof whatsoever, to declare the Criminal Innocent. He likewise punished the Confessor, but gently indeed, because he had readily, and without Compulsion, confessed the Truth.

WITH respect to the publick Confessions made in the first Ages of the Church, there is no drawing from them any Argument against the Duty of concealing what is discovered by a Penitent.

nitent. For in those Days, when Men submitted to Confession, if they accused themselves of Crimes, committed with, or by the Assistance of others, they concealed the Names of their Accomplices ; they were not particular in the Circumstances relating to the Facts, they spoke only in general Terms ; in a Word, they took all possible Precautions to prevent any ill Use being made by their Confessions ; and indeed, considering how they were then made, it was next to an Impossibility that any sinister Use could be served by them, even though they had been revealed.

ALL these Reasons taken together, ought certainly to establish the Truth of this Proposition, that the Confession of *Madam de Brinvellier* ought not to be produced as Evidence at the Bar of this *Tribunal*.

M. NIVELLE, that he might say all which could be said in Favour of a Client, took Notice, that from the very Strain of this Confession itself, it appeared to be the Work of a Person out of her Senses ; he gave some Instances of Things of a like Nature ; insisted that many of the Crimes, of which she accused herself therein, she could not possibly have committed ; so that if it were read in Evidence, it would amount to no more than the Ravings of a troubled Spirit, and the chimerical Fancies of an oppressed Mind.

BUT this great *Orator*, who was certainly a Man of a prodigious Capacity, and one of the most able of his Profession, forgot, that by alledging this, he effectually destroyed all that he had advanced be-

fore, since if what the *Marchioness* said was merely the Effects of a frantick Delirium ; then it followed that this was not such a Confession as fell under the Injunction of Secrecy, because it is impossible for us to judge with Certainty of the Intention of a distempered Mind.

THE Court, before whom this Process was heard, were clearly of Opinion, if the Confession of the *Marchioness de Brinville* were absolutely laid aside, either on Account of the Secrecy due to a Confession, or as the rash Act of a Person distemper'd in Mind ; yet there still remained Proofs more than sufficient to demonstrate her Guilt. They looked upon the Crimes, with which she was charged, as clearly proved under the Process against *Chaussée* ; and they were likewise of Opinion, that from what appeared at his Trial, and from his Confession at his Death, it might well be concluded who were the Contrivers of these Facts, of which he was only the Instrument, and these they determined to be St. *Croix* and the *Marchioness*.

INTEREST, the grand Motive to all Crimes of this Nature, appeared to them the true Spring of all that was done by these wicked Persons. That the *Marchioness* had formed in her Heart a Desire of making herself Mistress of the whole Effects of her Family, though at the Expence of her *Father's*, her *Brothers*, and *Sister's* Lives ; that St. *Croix* was engaged, through the Hopes of disposing absolutely the Fortune of a Woman blindly attached to him by her Passion.

THE fatal *Cabinet of Poisons*, which belonged to the *Marchioness*, as appeared by the Declaration of *St. Croix*, seemed to the *Judges* one of the strongest Proofs of her Guilt, that either was, or could be produced. To this they added the *Criminal Passion* of the *Marchioness* for *St. Croix*, and the dying *Confession* of *la Chaussée*, with the conjectural *Proofs* established on the Words which had fallen from the *Marchioness*, at several Times, her Flight, and other Circumstances, whence they were led to pronounce the following Sentence.

Record of the MARCHIONESS DE BRINVILLIER'S Conviction.

THE Grand Chamber and Tournelle assembled, and having examined therein the Criminal Process, commenced before the Provost of Paris, or his Lieutenant Criminal, at the Chatelet, at the Instance of the Substitute of the Procurator General of the King, and continued at the Instance of the Lady Maria Theresa, Mangot de Villarceau, Widow of Messire Anthony d'Aubray, Chevalier Comte d'Offremont, Lord of Villers, and other Places; Counsellor of the King in his Councils, Ordinary Master of Requests in his Household, and Lieutenant Civil of the Provosty and Viscountcy of Paris, Complainant; with the said Substitute against Lady Mary Margaret d'Aubray, Spouse to the Marquis de Brinvillier, John Baupin, Valet de Chambre, absent, and John Amelin (called la

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Chaussée)

Chaufsee) some Time Servant to Messire d'Aubray, Counsellor in the said Court, Prisoner ; and Lady Magdalen Bertrand du Breuit, Widow of John Baptist de Godin, Sieur de St. Croix, heretofore Captain of Horse in the Regiment of Traci, Defendants and Accused. The said Process, judged in the Chamber of the Tournelle, against the said la Chauffee, and by Contumacy against the said Marchioness de Brinvillier ; and afterwards continued in the said Chamber, at the Instance of the Procurator of the King, and the said Lady Mangot, Widow, the said Lady d'Aubray Brinvillier, &c. This Court having heard and examined the said Person, on the Points alledged against her, and having heard the Advocate General, &c. hath declared, and doth hereby declare the said Aubray de Brinvillier duly Attainted and Convicted, of having Poisoned M. Dreux d'Aubray, her Father, and the said Messieurs d'Aubray, the One Lieutenant Civil, the Other Counsellor in this Court, her Brothers ; and to have attempted the Life of the late Theresa d'Aubray, her Sister ; and for Reparation have condemned, and do hereby Condemn the said Aubray de Brinvillier, to make the Amende-honorable before the principal Gate of a Church at Paris, whither she shall be brought in a Tumbril, with her Feet bare, a Cord about her Neck, holding in her Hands a lighted Torch, weighing two Pounds, and there kneeling down, she shall say and declare, That she wickedly of Malice, afore-thought, had procured to be Poisoned her Father and two Brothers, and had attempted the Life of her Sister, of which she Repents, and asks Pardon of GOD, the King, and the Justice of the Nation ; and then she shall be bound, and carried in the said Tumbril, to the
Place

Place de Greve in the said City, there to be Beheaded on a Scaffold, to be erected for that Purpose, her Body burnt, and the Ashes thrown into the Air, she having before suffered the Question ordinary and extraordinary, in order to discover her Accomplices. The Inheritance to which she succeeds by the Deaths of her Father, Brothers and Sister; as also those to which she has already succeeded, from the Time in which she began to perpetrate these Crimes, with all that by any Means whatsoever she has acquired, are hereby declared confiscated; and as to such Effects as are not in their Nature confiscable, there shall be taken out of them the several Sums following, 4000 Livres to be paid to the King, 500 Livres to be given for the celebrating Services for the Repose of her Father, Brothers and Sisters, in the Chapel of the Conciergerie du Palais, 10,000 Livres to be paid by way of Satisfaction to the Lady Mangot, Relict of her elder Brother, and such other Amends as was decreed in the Case of Amelin de la Chauffee, done in the Parliament the 16th of July, 1679.

THE Marchioness, who had hitherto steadily denied her Crimes, acknowledged them as soon as Sentence was past, M. Perot, Doctor of the Sorbon, who confessed her, and who remained with her 'till she was conducted to the Place of Execution, hath left us a most moving Account of the last twenty-four Hours of this extraordinary Woman; this Relation is in Manuscript, but it is a great Pity that we have it not printed, in it he describes her as a Person, whose very Soul was pierced with Grief, and whose Mind was at length so enlightened with divine Grace, and she gave such indubitable Signs of true Conversion, that the
Doctor

Doctor could scarce help saying, *He wished himself in her Place.* He says farther, that she desired him to give her the Holy Communion, which he could not comply with, it being forbidden ever to allow it to Persons who are to suffer capital Punishments.

HE says farther, that he told her, that she ought to look upon herself as a publick *Penitent*, who could not be admitted to the Participation of the *Eucharist*. She then intreated him to give her the *blessed Bread*, as it had been given to the *Marshall de Marillac*, her Relation, before he was Executed; but the Doctor told her, that his Crime was far less enormous than hers, which could not be expiated, but by the Privation, not only of the *Sacrament* itself, but even of the Resemblance of the *Sacrament* of the *Eucharist*.

THE famous Painter, *le Brun*, placed himself in the way as she went to Execution, in order to have an Opportunity of taking a View of her Countenance, that from thence he might paint the Agonies of a Convict, under all those Apprehensions which strike the Mind, when an ignominious Death is in Sight. Her Picture was also taken, as I have been informed, by the famous *Coyvel*, who likewise graved a Print, which I expect in a short Time from *Paris*, and hope to oblige the Publick with, by way of Frontispiece in the *second Volume* of this Work. As she passed along, observing several Persons of Quality, whom she knew, waiting to see her End, she looked upon them with a very steady Countenance, nor could forbear uttering at the same Time, with an Air of Dislike,
these

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these Words, *Viola une beau Spectacle a voir, See Ladies a Sight worth coming for.*

T H E R E is nothing said throughout the Process of the *Marquis of Brinvillier*, who was still living, but who was so far shocked and surprized at the Blackness of his Wife's Crimes, that the poor Nobleman withdrew from the World, and hid himself in an obscure Retreat. Thus Innocence itself may sometimes suffer by the very Reflection of the Guilt of near Relations, a Thought which one would imagine might make some Impression on the Minds of Persons tolerably well born, and hinder them from gratifying a momentary Passion at the Expence, not only of their own Lives and Fortunes, but even of those of their Relations at a distant, as well as near in Degree, and for many Ages to come.

GLASER the *Apothecary*, from whom *St. Croix* had bought his Drugs, was included in this Process, and it was not without a great deal of Trouble that he extricated himself out of the Difficulties that it brought upon him. However it occasioned an Arret of Parliament, bearing Date the 27th of *February*, 1677 ; whereby all *Apothecaries*, *Grocers*, and other Persons dealing in Drugs, were forbid to sell such as might be employed to ill Purposes, without great Precautions, to be reinforced and put in strict Execution. They were now commanded not to vend such Things indifferently to all Persons, but to such only as they had just Reason to believe, would really use them to the End pretended at the Time of buying them, and for the greater Security these Traders were directed
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to keep a Book or Register, of the Names of all who bought any dangerous Drugs from them, with the Purposes declared at the Time of buying them, so that Recourse might be had at all Times there-to, on any Suspensions of Peoples being poisoned. The *Edict* of the King against *Poisoners* and other notorious Criminals, of which presently we shall give our Readers an exact Copy, made farther Provisions on this Head for the Safety of Peoples Lives, and the preventing those villainous Practices which for some Years before, there were just Causes to support, had been but too frequent. *M. de Penautier*, on Account of the Affairs he had had with the *Marchioness de Brinvillier* was arrested, and sent Prisoner to the *Bastile*, where he took a vast deal of Pains to persuade his Judges, that the Transactions he had had with that unfortunate Woman, no way related to her Crimes.

IT is to be remarked with respect to poisoning, that it is a Crime much oftener committed by Women than by Men, for they not having it in their Power, nor perhaps in their Will, to avenge themselves openly on such as offend them, have therefore Recourse to these Practices, as Means at one Secret, and sure of compassing the same End.

THE celebrated *Roman* Historian *Livy*, in the eighth Book of the first Decad of his noble Work, hath recorded a very extraordinary Instance of this kind. In the Year (says he) wherein *Marcus Claudius Marcellus*, and *Titus Valerius Flaccus* were Consuls, there happened a very extraordinary Calamity at *Rome*; many Citizens of considerable Quality, deceased in an
odd

odd Manner, and with strange Symptoms, which at first were ascribed to a kind of Pestilence ; but when these Accidents grew more frequent, and the Apprehensions of the People stronger ; at last a Chamber-Maid presented herself before *Quintus Fabius Maximus*, then *Ædile*, offering (provided she herself might be pardoned) to make a full Discovery of the true Causes of these strange Deaths. *Fabius* surprized at this Information, went immediately and declared it to the Consuls, the Consuls to the Senate, who thereupon by a Decree, pledged the publick Faith to the Discoverer, that she should be safe, the Woman then informed the Senate, that what had hitherto been accounted a Plague, was no more than the Effect of the Villainy of their Wives, many of whom to gratify their Passions had poisoned their Husbands, and many more were preparing to do the same thing ; for the Proof of this she directed them where they might immediately find the Managers of this detestable Wickedness, which was accordingly done, and the Women actually found boiling the poisonous Drugs, with some of them ready made up, in various sorts of Food ; these were immediately produced in the Market Place, and about twenty Women of some Fashion, who were charged with being concerned in these Practices, were seized and brought thither also ; among whom *Cornelia* and *Sergia* insisting in their Defence, that this was a wicked Contrivance of an angry Wench, and that the things seized were so far from being poisonous, that they were certain rich and wholesome Confections, which out of Love to their Husband's they had prepared ; the Maid answered very calmly, that it might be so, but that as a Proof thereof, they ought

ought to take some of these Confections themselves, whereupon the Ladies demanded time to consider of that Proposal, which being allowed them, *Cornelia* and *Sergia* persuaded them to do as the Maid had proposed, as the duly Means whereby to avoid a far more cruel and ignominious Death ; accordingly in the Sight of all the People, each of them took a large Draught of their own Cups, and in a short time after yielded up their Lives ; whereupon their Accomplices were instantly seized and put to Death, to the Number in all of one hundred and seventy, and on this Occasion was made the first Law against poisoning, in the *Roman* Common-Wealth ; nay, the Enormity of the Fact appeared to them so great, and the Number of Persons who died ; struck them with such a Pannick, that they had Recourse to the extream Remedy in their Policy, which was the creating a *Dictator*, who by striking a Nail in the Temple of *Jupiter*, according to the Superstition of those Times, might deliver the People from any farther Apprehensions, and free them from that Anxiety to which they were fallen, on the Prospect of such excessive Wickedness.

JUSTICE to say the Truth, ought to apply herself to nothing with greater Attention, than to the extirpating of *Poisoners* ; because Poison is in a peculiar Manner the Bane of Princes, inasmuch as it is the only kind of Death from which they find it impossible to defend themselves.

WE are told in the Memoirs of an Ambassador from *Venice*, that under the Pontificate of *Urban* the VIIIth, an *Italian* Gentleman confessed, that
he

he had poisoned five Popes. History acquaints us, that Princes themselves have sometimes had Hearts so corrupt, as to make Use of this detestable Means to rid themselves of their Enemies; it is particularly reported, that Cardinal *de Birague* used sometimes to say to the Kings *Charles* the IXth, and *Henry* IIIId, that they had never got the better of so many of their Enemies without the Assistance of their Kitchens, and of their Cooks.

I F the inquisitive Reader will give me Leave, I will just hint at one or two extraordinary Instances of this Sort, which have happened in *England*, before I pursue our Authors Remarks any further.

I N the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, the famous Earl of *Leicester* had an *Italian Physician*, who was shrewdly suspected to have had a Hand in shortening the Lives of many great Men; the unhappy Earl of *Essex*, Father to an Earl more unhappy, who was likewise Father to one not very Fortunate, is thought to have perished by a Draught out of an *Italian Cup*, prepared by the *Physician* before-mentioned, in the 36th Year of his Age: Certain it is, that the Earl thought so himself; for when the Mother of a young Gentleman who attended him, and who tasted of the same Cup, told him in his last Illness that her Son was better, but had lost all his Hair, the sick Earl answered, *Alas! he lost his Hair, but I lose my Life!* As to the other Feats of this *Italian Doctor*, they may be found in the *Life and Memoirs of the Earl of Leicester*; written when he was in Power, and Re-published not long ago, with a Preface by Doctor *Drake*.

IN the next Reign, the poisoning Sir *Thomas Overbury*, was a very extraordinary Fact, inasmuch as some Persons of a far higher Quality than the *Marchioness of Brinvillier* were concerned therein; but it seems they were but Bunglers in their Trade, for after various Attempts to no Purpose, if we except the Torments the unhappy Gentleman suffered, on whom they were tried, so that in the End they were forced to smother him, as may be seen at large in the *State Trials*, and in the Letters of the Lord Chancellor *Bacon*, and other Great Men, who lived in those Times.

IN our own Days, General Count *Daun* *Viceroy* of *Naples*, did a very memorable and considerable Action, in Respect to a Business of this Nature. There was a celebrated Female Artist in poisoning, whose Name was *Trufanio*, who had attained such a Skill in her execrable Profession, that she was able to poison People in such a Manner, that on the opening of their Bodies no Marks thereof should appear, either in the Brain or about the Heart or the Lungs, from the Symptoms appearing in some or other, of which Parts Poison is generally detected.

IT was a clear Water, which differed nothing in Colour or Smell from Spring Water; nor was it to be discerned therefrom even by Taste, so that there was no Means possible for avoiding it, even when People took the utmost Precautions. It operated by causing a great Defluxion on the Lungs, which was incurable in its Nature, and which yet was not to be distinguished from a Defluxion

fluxion proceeding from natural Causes. This Lady was mighty communicative of her Secret ; if a Nephew had an Uncle who threatened to live for ever, she soon put him in a Way to cut his Thread short ; if a Wife disliked her present Husband and had a Mind to another, *Trufania* stood her Friend ; if a Man had taken a Picque against another, and durst not draw his Sword, she could help him to as effectual a Weapon.

IN a Word, if one Person stood in the Way of another, this Gentlewoman, for a very small Gratitude, had her Water-Bottle ready to shove him out. Practices of this Stamp, when they become frequent, can never be long concealed ; the Fame of *Trufania* began to spread, and her Exploits were the Topick of publick Conversation ; when Count *Dawn* was appointed *Viceroy*, he was no sooner informed of this Matter, then he gave Orders for her being arrested, of which having Notice, she fled for Sanctuary to a *Church*, whence, according to the Custom of *Italy*, she ought not to have been forced on any Account ; but the *Viceroy*, conceiving otherwise of the Matter, and not well understanding why the House of GOD should be made an *Azylum* for an Offender in so high a Degree, ordered her to be seized even there, and having brought her out, he delivered her into the Hands of Justice, so that after a legal Conviction, she suffered such a Death as her enormous Crimes deserved.

IT may not be amiss to place here the celebrated Edicts of *Lewis* the XIVth, published in 1682, for the Punishing *Witchcrafts*, *Poisonings*,
and

and other *Crimes*, and registred in *Parliament*, the 31st of *August* the same Year, it follows *Verbatim* :

LEWIS by the Grace of G O D King of *France*, and of *Navarre*. To all present, and to come, Health. The Execution of the Ordinances of the Kings our Predecessors, against such as call themselves *Conjurers*, *Magicians* and *Enchanters*, having been for a long Time neglected, and this Neglect having drawn into our Realm, from Foreign Parts, many *Impostors*, it has come to pass, that under Pretence of calculating *Nativities*, &c. divining by other *Methods*, and by Means of *Frauds*, and pretended *Operations* in *Magick*, and other such like *Illusions*, as People of this kind are wont to practise, they have drawn in many ignorant and credulous Persons to confide in them, engaging them first in *vain Curiosities*, thence leading them to *superstitious Practices*, and from *superstitious Practices*, to *gross Impieties* and *horrid Sacrileges* ; nay, treading still in this *abominable Road*, and abandoning themselves wholly to the Guidance of these *execrable Wretches*, they have been induced to add *Witchcraft* and *Poisoning*, to *Impieties* and *Sacrilege*, in order to bring about what those *wicked Seducers* had promised, and to accomplish at any Rate, their *mischievous Predictions*.

THESE Practices having come to our Knowledge, we have employed all imaginable Pains to put a Stop to the Progress of such *detestable Abominations* ; and after the *Punishment*, which has been inflicted on the principal *Authors* of these *Crimes*, and their *Accomplices*, we have some Reason to hope

hope that these sort of *People* are for ever banished out of our Dominions, and that our Subjects need be under no farther Apprehensions about them; nevertheless, as our Experience from the past, gives us to understand how dangerous it is to suffer even the smallest Abuses, which have a Tendency to these *Crimes*, and how difficult a Thing it is to root them out, when through *Disimulation*, or a strong *Propensity* to such *Follies*, they are become publick *Crimes*, being willing besides to omit nothing which may contribute to the Glory of God, and the Safety of our Subjects, we have thought it necessary to renew the *antient Ordinances*, and to add to them new *Cautions*, as well in Regard to those who practise *Withcrafts* and *Poisonings*, as of those who make Profession of being *Conjurers*, *Magicians*, *Sorcerers*, and such like, condemned by Laws divine and human, infecting and corrupting, by their Discourses and Practices, and by the Prophanation of all that *Religion* has rendered holy.

BE it known therefore that We, from these Causes, and many others, Us thereunto moving, of our own Accord, certain Knowledge, full Power, and Royal Authority, have pronounced, declared, ordained, and pronounce, declare and ordain, by these Presents, signed with our own Hand what follows.

I.

THAT all Persons who have practised *Divination* in any way, or have given out themselves for *Conjurers*, Men or Women, shall immediately

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ly depart the Realm, on the Publication of this our Declaration, on Pain of corporal Punishment.

II.

WE forbid all Sorts of *superstitious Practices*, either by Writing or in Words, whether it be by abusing the Words of the *Holy Scripture*, or the *Prayers* of the *Church*, or otherwise, by saying or doing of Things which have no Connection with natural Causes; and We will, that those who frame any such *Enchantments*, or those who make Use of them in any Manner, or in order to effect any *Purpose* whatsoever, shall be punished in the most exemplary Manner, according to the Exigency of the Case.

III.

IF any Persons shall be found so wicked, as to join to *Superstition*, *Impiety* and *Sacrilege*, in order to the effecting some *magical Performance*, our Will is, that such as are convicted of such *Facts*, shall suffer *Death*.

IV.

IN like Manner let such be punished, as shall be convicted of practising by *Witchcraft* or *Poisons*, to procure *Death*, whether *Death* ensue or not; as also all such as shall be convicted, either of compounding or of distributing *Poisons*, and inasmuch as these *Crimes* are not more detestable, nor more dangerous than they are difficult to discover, our Will is, that all those (without Exception) who
have

have in any Manner been privy to the procuring or giving *Poisons*, shall immediately repair to our *Procurators General*, their *Substitutes*, or other proper *Officer* in the *Provinces* wherein they dwell, and shall make a proper Declaration of what they know to them, or some of them, on Pain of being treated as Abettors of, and Accomplices in the said Crime ; but such Informants shall be discharged from all Sort of Prosecution and Danger, even in Respect to Civil Actions, if they give in a true and just Account of every Thing they know ; and if it be found to be conformable to *Facts*, they shall likewise be indemnified against whatever they might otherwise be liable to, from the LXXIII Article of the *Ordinance of Orleans*, as far as it regards Practicers of *Evil Arts* and *Poisoners* only, and excepting what is therein threatened to *Calumniators*, which our Will is shall be fully and strictly executed.

V.

IF it shall appear that any Person hath actually attempted, by any *Evil Arts* or *Poisonings*, the Life of another, though they never put in Practice (for want of Opportunity) what was intended, yet let them suffer *Death*.

VI.

LET those be reputed *Poisons*, which not only cause sudden *Death*, but those also which alter the *Constitution* by Degrees, and bring on *Death* by very slow, tho' certain Steps ; let there also be no Distinction made from the Nature of *Poisons*, whe-

ther they be natural or fictitious, mere *Simple Drugs*, or *Compound Poisons*, so constituted by the Skill of the *Artists*; for which Reason we also forbid and discharge all *Physicians* and *Apothecaries*, upon Pain of *Death*, to keep or retain any *Poisons*, either simple or prepared in such a Manner, as to retain still their noxious Qualities, and which enter not any ordinary Composition in *Medicine*, which can serve only to hurt, and are in their own Nature pernicious and mortal.

VII.

WITH respect to *Arsenick*, *Realgal*, *Orpiment*, and *Sublimat*, though they are *Poisons*, and of the most dangerous Nature, when given in Substance, and alone; yet inasmuch as they enter into various *Medicines*, and are useful also in other Respects, We therefore, to prevent their being sold to such as might make an ill Use of them, permit such Dealers to vend them, as live in great Towns, and they are hereby directed and commanded to sell them only to *Physicians*, *Apothecaries*, *Surgeons*, *Goldsmiths*, and other Persons in publick Employments, who are known to make Use of them in their several Professions. They shall likewise keep a Register, wherein the Persons who come for such *Drugs* shall enter their Names, Qualities, Places of Abode, and the Quantity of the *Mineral* which they bought; but if it should happen that any of those *Artizans* should not be able to write, then such Dealer may have Leave to enter their Names, &c. for them. When any Persons, unknown to such Dealers, who yet are *Surgeons* or *Artificers* in Boroughs or Villages, have

have Occasion for these Things, they shall take a Certificate of their Employment, under the Hand of the *Judge* of the Place where they live, of a *Notary Publick*, or of the *Minister* of the Place, and the two *principal Inhabitants*, which they shall carry to such Dealer, and shall leave with him to be produced for his Discharge, together with an Entry as aforesaid; also all *Druggists*, *Mercers*, and other Dealers, shall send to the *Syndic's* or *Wardens* of the *Grocers* or *Apothecaries*, in the Town next them, from Time to Time, an Account of what Things of this Kind they sell, under Pain of suffering a Fine of *Three Thousand Livres*, for the Breach of any Article here enjoined, and even of *Corporal Punishment* if that shall not be found sufficient to deter them.

VIII.

WE likewise enjoin all such, who by Reason of their Professions or Trades, have a Right to buy and sell such *Drugs*, to keep them carefully in a secure Place, and to retain the Key in their own Power; we likewise enjoin them to set down in a Register, a particular Account of all the *Remedies* in which such *Drugs* have been employed, with the Names of the Persons for whom they were made up, and the Quantities of those *Ingredients* which were used in them; and at the End of the Year they shall in the same Register make up an exact Account of what Quantities remains in their Hands of the said *Drugs*, under the Penalty of a *Thousand Livres* for the first Offence, and a heavier Fine in Case they offend again.

IX.

WE forbid all *Physicians*, *Apothecaries*, *Surgeons*, *Goldsmiths*, *Dyers*, &c. and who ever else have occasion to make Use of these Drugs, to deliver them in Substance to any Person, upon any Pretence whatsoever, under Pain of being corporally punished; and they are hereby directed to make up all such Medicines as these Drugs necessarily enter into with their own Hands, or at least to have them made up each by his Servants in their Presence, and not to entrust the Care of preparing them without their Inspection, to any one whatsoever.

X.

WE forbid all Persons, except *Physicians* and *Apothecaries*, to meddle with any venomous *Insects* or *Reptiles*, such as *Serpents*, *Toads*, *Vipers*, &c. under Pretence of using them medicinally, or making Experiments upon them, or on any other Pretence whatsoever; without an express Permission in Writing first had and obtained.

XI.

WE expressly forbid, all Persons of what Profession and Condition soever they be, except licensed *Physicians*, in the Places of their Abode, publick *Chymists*, and Master *Apothecaries*, to have any Laboratory, or to work therein, in preparing any kind of Drugs, or making any kind of Distillations, under Pretence of composing Chymical Remedies, making Experiments, searching after Secrets in
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Phyſick, or the *Philosophers Stone*, or of converting, multiplying, or refining of Metals; composing Chryſtals, or imitating Stones of Colour, or any other Pretence whatſoever, without having firſt obtained Letters of Permiſſion for ſuch Laboratories under our great Seal, and having preſented the ſaid Letters, and having made a proper Declaration thereof to our Judges and Officers *de Police* throughout the Realm.

WE alſo forbid all *Diſtillers* and Venders of *Brandy*, to diſtil any Thing except *Brandy* and *Spirit of Wine*, unleſs there be Need of them, for the making up of ſuch ſtrong Waters as are permitted; yet in that Caſe they ſhall take out our Letters, and make ſuch a Declaration as aforeſaid, under Pain of ſuffering exemplary Punishment. SO GIVEN in Charge, unto our Truſty and Well beloved Court of Parliament of *Paris*, that they may cauſe theſe Preſents to be read, publiſhed and regiſtered, and put in Execution, according to their Form and Tenour, without ſuffering them to be contravened in any Manner whatſoever; for ſuch is our Pleaſure. And to the End that this Ordinance ſhould remain for ever in Force, we have cauſed our Seal to be put to theſe Preſents. DONE at *Versailles*, in the Month of *July*, in the Year of Lord 1682, and of our Reign the Fortieth. Signed *LOUIS*, &c.

THIS Ediſt was publiſhed after the *Chamber of Poiſons* had gone through their Proceedings, and made ſome terrible Examples, of Perſons concerned in ſuch Acts. The famous *Marſhal de Luxembourg*, was one of the principal People ſuſpected

be concerned in Practices of this Sort. He was imprisoned, and a Process formed against him, in the Court just now mentioned; but afterwards the Exigency of State so requiring, as some People say, he was discharged and the Proceedings suppressed. The best Account I have ever met with of this obscure Affair, is contained in *M. des Mazeaux's* Life of *M. Bayle*; from whence I shall take the Liberty of Transcribing it.

“ The Affair of *M. de Luxembourg*, made at
 “ this Time, 1680, a very great Noise, he had
 “ been impeached before the *Chamber of Poisons*, as
 “ one guilty of Impieties, Acts of Witchcraft, and
 “ Poisonings, upon which he was made Prisoner;
 “ but was afterwards discharged from all the Ac-
 “ cusations brought against him, and the Pro-
 “ ceedings suppressed. *M. Bayle* having pickt up
 “ very exact Memoirs of this extraordinary Affair
 “ at *Paris*, diverted himself with composing an
 “ Harangue, in which the Marshall is supposed
 “ to have pleaded his Cause before the Judges,
 “ and to have justified himself from having made a
 “ League with the Devil. First, that he might
 “ enjoy all the Women he pleased; secondly,
 “ that he should be always fortunate in War;
 “ thirdly, that he might always prevail in Suits of
 “ Law; and fourthly have always the good
 “ Graces of the King. These four Points are the
 “ Subject of the whole Harrangue which con-
 “ tains a most poignant Satire against the *Mar-*
 “ *shall*, and against several other Persons. *M.*
 “ *Bayle* having made afterwards a Critic upon
 “ this Harangue under another Name, which
 “ was keener than the Satire it self. He sent
 “ these

“ these two Pieces to *M. Minutoli*, and desired
 “ him to give him his Thoughts of them ; which
 “ that he might do the more finely, he concealed
 “ from him his being the Author. I send you
 “ (says he) in a Letter to that Gentleman, an
 “ Harangue written in the Name of *M. de Lux-*
 “ *embourg*, on purpose to expose a Part of his
 “ Life. When I have Time, I will cause to be
 “ copied for you a kind of Censure on this Ha-
 “ rangue, you’ll oblige me in giving me your
 “ Sentiments on these Pieces ; because one of my
 “ Friends at *Paris*, who knows the Author of
 “ the second Piece, desires to have my Thoughts
 “ on both, &c.”

I have been informed, by the learned Author of the Work I have last quoted, that there is still in Being, two Copies of this Harangue, and of the Criticism thereon ; the one in the *Emperor’s* Library, and the other in the Hands of a private Gentleman in *Paris* ; but they are full of such amazing Particulars, that they are not as yet thought proper for the Ear of the Publick.

THERE was also about this Time one *La Voisin*, a Woman at *Paris*, who pretended to be able to foretell future Events, and who gave out that she had a Correspondence with *familiar Spirits* ; she had likewise been very deep in *Poisonings* ; she had always a great Concourse of People about her, but more Women by far than Men ; she promised them to discover *Secrets* to them ; to reveal to them whatever should hereafter come to pass ; to tell where *Things* might be found that were lost, and how to find *hidden Treasure* ; she

likewise prepared *Philters*, and *Love-Drinks*, to excite People of different Sexes, to have a *Passion* for each other ; and she gave out that she had *Secrets* in her Power, whereby she could render People *invulnerable*, and secure to them *good Luck* at *Play*.

ENCOURAGED by her Example, several People set up the same Trade. All these fell under the Cognizance of the *Chamber* before-mentioned. *La Voisin*, as she had been the first and principal Offender, was condemned to be burnt alive, which was executed in the *Place de Greve*, and all the rest were punished according to their Demerits. With such a laudable Severity did the *French Court* prosecute those *Deceivers* of the People.





C A S E V.

THE History of a Gentleman and his Wife unjustly accused of a most flagrant Robbery, whose Innocence did not appear 'till they had been condemned to an infamous Punishment, and after his Decease.



NOTHING can be of greater Service in any State, than to give the *Judges*, from Time to Time, such necessary Cautions, as may prevent their falling into Errors, through a too warm Adherence to their own Sentiments, and a pre-conceived Notion, that in the Midst of Obscurity they are always capable of discerning Truth; to this End, what *History* more proper than this I am about to Recite, of the unfortunate *Sieur D'Anglade*, and his Wife.

A Concatanation of unlucky Circumstances, led his *Judges* to believe, that he and his Lady were the guilty Persons, though One of the *real Thieves* was present; yet withdrawing their Eyes from him, they cast them upon these *Innocents*, whom they rendered the *Victims* of *Justice*, while the *Guilty* made their Escape; what a deplorable

Thing was this? It is true, the *two Criminals* were detected in the End, and fell by the *Sword of Justice*; but alas! did that restore *Life* to the unhappy *Innocent* deceas'd? Did it at all repair his injured *Honour*? Or could it make any Satisfaction to a hapless *Widow*, and an unfortunate *Child*, for the Loss of a *Husband* and a *Parent*? Deplo-
rable Effects of the Weakness of Human Under-
standing, however elevated, however shining, and
of that laudable Zeal which inclined the *Judges*
not to suffer so rank a Crime to go unpunished.

FRANCIS Count Montgomery, and the
Sieur D'Anglade, lodged together in the same
House, the *Count* had the first Floor, and the
Sieur D'Anglade the second and third. There
was between them that Sort of Acquaintance which
generally subsists among polite Neighbours; but
nothing of that sincere Respect, which constitutes
true Friendship. The *Count*, who had all the
Honour and Magnificence natural to a Man of his
Birth, had an Equipage and Attendance suitable to
his Quality, and the Estate of a Man perfectly
at Ease in the World.

AMONGST the rest of his Domesticks, he
had an *Almoner*, who was one of the Persons
guilty of the *Faët* I am going to speak of, and
who had Art enough to throw it upon the *Sieur*
D'Anglade. This unfortunate Gentleman kept up
all the Appearance, and had much more Pride than
was necessary to a Man of the first Fashion,
though he had not the Fortune necessary to such a
kind of Life; however, he managed so as to keep
up a very good Equipage, tho' not so great a one

as the *Count*, and by *Dint* of a tolerable Assurance, introduced himself to Persons of Distinction, and was received in the best Companies.

WHEN I say, he managed so as to keep up a good Equipage, I would be understood in the strictest Sense ; for it did not appear, upon the strictest Enquiry, that he did any Thing that was base or dishonest to support it. A capital Accusation may be looked on as the Touch-stone of a Person's Character ; for if nothing amiss be said of a Man, under such a Misfortune, it may very fairly be concluded from thence, that his Behaviour has been very exact.

THE *Count* and *Countess* of *Montgomery*, intending to go for a short Time to their Estate at *Villebouffin*, they sent a Compliment to the *Sieur D'Anglade* and his Spouse, to let them know they would be very glad of their Company ; that *Gentleman*, in the Name of himself and his Wife, returned the Compliment with a thousand Thanks, but at the same Time declined accepting the Offer, by suggesting a very trivial Excuse, which afterwards was urged as the strongest Circumstance against them. Hard indeed, that a Man may not have Leave to consult his own Affairs, as to staying in or going out of Town, but must be thought a Thief, merely for not being ready to run when his Betters called.

THE *Count* and *Countess* left *Paris* on Monday Evening, the 22d of *September*, 1687, to go to their Seat, and did not return till the *Thursday* following in the Evening. They were attended

by *Francis Gugard*, Father *Mauceau* their Chaplain, and all their other Domesticks, there was none left in Town but the Lady *Montgomery's* Woman, whose Name was *Fromenie*, a Boy in Livery, and four Women who were at Work upon Embroidery.

THE *Count* and *Countess* returned out of the Country a Day sooner than they designed, the *Count* alledging that his Mind was exceedingly struck with some odd Accidents, such as finding Blood upon a Napkin and a Towel, which he took for ill Omens, and besides he had such a preternatural Pressure on his Mind, that he could not be easy, till he set out for Town. What followed on these Surmises would have been sufficient to have turned the Heads of a whole Nation of credulous Persons, and have made a red Spot on a Napkin, as sure a Sign of Theft as spilling of Salt is of Anger. The Chaplain, the Page and the Valet de Chambre, who were on Horseback, came to Town a little before their Lord and Lady, they found the Hall where the Servants lay open, though the Chaplain had double Lock'd it when they went out, and strict Orders had been given it should not be opened when the *Count* was out of Town, even though the Keys had been left. The *Sieur d'Anglade* came home that Night at Eleven o'Clock, with the *Abbe's de Villars* and *Fleury*, with whom he had supped at the President *Roberts*. As he came in, he found the *Count* and *Countess* in a Parlour going to Supper. They stopped him, he sat down and talked with them, and soon after Madam *de Anglade* was sent for, who came down
Stairs,

Stairs, went into the Parlour, and took her Share in the Conversation.

THE Domesticks of the *Count* and *Countess*, swore positively that the *Sieur de Anglade* seemed prodigiously surprized, when he found the *Count* and *Countess* returned, and that his Wife was quite astonished on her being called down to them. We may see from hence, how ready some People's Mind are, especially those of the Vulgar, to receive odd Impressions ; these two People were absolutely innocent, and yet, the Servants either not minding what they saw, or-being resolved to remember any thing, which might wipe off Suspicion from themselves, readily deposed too strong Signs of Guilt in the Faces of this Gentleman and his Lady ; though the Truth was at that Time, they knew nothing of the Robbery, and could not therefore look so much as surprized. Circumstances and Conjecture are very inconclusive Evidence, or to speak plainly, are no Evidence at all ; for the very Nature of Evidence requires, that it should make a thing plain, whereas at the farthest this can only render it suspicious.

THE next Day in the Evening, the *Count* exhibited his Complaint before the *Lieutenant Criminal* of the *Chatelet*. He set forth, that during his Absence in the Country for three Days, the Lock of his Portmantua had been forced, from whence there had been taken thirteen Bags of a thousand Livres each, in Silver ; eleven thousand five hundred Livres in Gold, in Pieces of two Pistoles ; a hundred new *Louis d' Ors*, and a Pearl Necklace, to the Value of four thousand Livres ; The *Sieur*
Deffita

Deffita Lieutenant Criminal, the King's Attorney, and a Commission went immediately to the Place from the View of which, they were persuaded, that the Theft could not be committed but by some Person in the House, they therefore judged it necessary to search all the Apartments.

THE first Idea that a Judge takes in his Head in such a Case as this, is hardly ever to be effaced ; on the contrary, it directs all his Thoughts, and is continually uppermost in his Imagination, The *Sieur d' Anglade* and his Lady made it their Request, that their Apartment might be the first searched ; that Gentleman conducted the Lieutenant Criminal in Person, through all the Places that belonged to him ; he opened before them every Trunk, Cabinet, Drawer, caused all the Beds to be shaken, and the Curtains to be opened, but there was nothing found.

THEY then went up into the Granary, whither Madam *d' Anglade* declined following them, because she had an Indisposition upon her. There they found in an old Trunk full of Rags and Shreds, a Rouleau of Sixty *Louis d' Ors* wrapped up in a printed Paper, containing a Genealogy, which the Count declared belonged to him. This Discovery fixed some Suspicion on the *Sieur d' Anglade*, and his Wife. The Count pretending that these Sixty *Louis d' Ors* were Part of the Hundred of which he was robbed, and he declared, that his were coined in the Years 1686 and 1687, which was not at all consistent with what he had set forth in his Complaint. Without more ado, he charged the

the *Sieur d' Anglade* and his Wife, and desired they might be examined separately.

IT was pretended, that some Contradictions were discovered in what they answered, with Respect to the *Louis d' Ors*: See what a Power Imagination has over the wisest Men, every Look they gave, every thing they said, every Action of theirs was concluded a Sign of Guilt. Figure to yourselves my Reader, what a hapless Condition these Innocents were in, charged roundly with so black a Fact, affrighted without Friends, and so much astonished, that they knew not what to do. As for the *Sieur d' Anglade* he trembled every Limb, he was sensible of it himself, and said as he counted the *Louis d' Ors*, I tremble. The Guilty in such Cases are more resolute, because they are more upon their Guard.

THEY went down then into the outward-Room, where the *Chaplain*, the *Page*, and the *Valet de Chambre* lay. *Madam d' Anglade* remarked to the Lieutenant Criminal, that it had been said, the Door of that Room had been drawn to, that therefore they ought to take up the *Valet de Chambre*, and perhaps some Discovery might be drawn from him. This Piece of Advice was so misconstrued, as to be taken for a strong Proof of their Guilt, especially after in a Hole in the Wall they found five Bags of a thousand Livres compleat each, and another which wanted about two hundred Livres of that; since this instantly drew from the Count a Remark, that if he had come to Town a Day later, these Bags had been all carried away.

THEY

THEY visited no other Parts of the House, nor made any other Inquisition, which is very surprizing ; since in such a Case one might naturally have suspected the Domesticks. The Judge was so strongly convinced, by the Signs of Guilt he fancied he saw, and by the Discourse he had with the Count, who said he would answer for his own People, that he said on the discovering the *Louis d' Ors*, to the *Sieur d' Anglade*, *either you or I committed this Robbery*. He gave Orders at the Request of the Count, and by the Consent of the King's Attorney ; that Informations should be filed against this unhappy Gentleman and his Wife, and that they should be committed Prisoners. The Husband was immediately sent to the *Chatelet*, and the Wife to Fort *L' Eveque*, there they were each of them locked up in a little Room, and strict Injunction given to the Jailors, under the most severe Penalties, not to suffer any Person to have Access to them, a Seal being also put upon their Effects. Thus these Innocents were already covered with Infamy, subjected to such Punishments as are only fit to be practised on those who are already convicted.

THE Lieutenant Criminal in two Days, ordered the Process to be perfected against the Accused, as having committed a Robbery with Fraction, (that is what we call a Burglary.) The Domesticks of the Count appeared as Witnesses against them, even *Francis Gaguard*, who not long after was himself convicted of the Robbery, appeared amongst the rest. If we could have viewed what passed in his Breast at that time, question-

questionless it would have appeared, that he was under no small Surprize, at seeing Strangers to his Crime about to be punished for it; and Justice so blind as to attempt to take any Victim, without minding which ought to suffer. They brought now the additional Testimony of the Sister of the Count, and the Sister of the Countess, who deposed to mere Circumstances, in Support of the Accusation: They said they had seen the *Sieur de Anglade* at the Door of the Hall, where the Servants lay, at the Time that the Count arrived, and some Time afterwards, a Witness deposed, as to the *Sieur de Anglade*, that he was a Gamester, and that the *Abbe Bouin* had once called him a Sharper.

ANOTHER, that he had once lodged in a House where a Silver Bason was lost; there was a Third, who swore he had heard somewhat of his stealing a Piece of Ribbon; in a Word, they drew together whatever spiteful Things had been said of this unhappy Man; they confounded Jest with Earnest, and they made Use of all, as if it had been the most authentick Proof. Such is the Lot of those unhappy Persons, against whom violent Causes of Suspicion are supposed to appear. On these Informations the Servant of the *Sieur d'Anglade*, his Coachman, and his Wife's Woman, were ordered into Custody, and accordingly they were all imprisoned, except the Coachman.

ON the 25th of *October*, 1687, an Arret of the *Great Council* quashed the Judgment of the *Lieutenant Criminal*, and ordered that the Cause should be heard by the *Parliament*, the *Great Council*

Council being of Opinion, that the *Theft* was not committed with *Fraction*, but by the Help of *false Keys*, without breaking either of *Doors* or *Locks*.

THE *Sieur d'Anglade* fancied the *Lieutenant Criminal* was his Enemy, this Imagination run so strongly in his Head, that therefore in his Appeal he made him a Party. By an Arret of Parliament, on the 13th of *December* following, the *Lieutenant Criminal* was declared to have been unjustly summoned, and the Cause was remitted to him for his Decision. A *Judge* is generally tempted to be severe on One who has questioned his Integrity, and in Point both of *Judge* and *Witnesses*, no poor Man was ever in a worse Condition than the *Sieur d'Anglade*. *Vincent Bellestre*, who was the Confederate with the *Chaplain* in the Robbery, was one of the principal *Witnesses* in this Part of the Controversy, though he had before taken the *Eucharist* to discover the *Truth*, and no doubt but he applauded in his Heart the Errors he had created, without fearing in the least that he and his *Accomplice* should be discover'd.

THE *Lieutenant Criminal* having come off with Glory, in the Attack made upon him before the *Parliament*, proceeded very warmly, and on the 19th of *January*, 1688, he ordered that the *Sieur d'Anglade* should be put to the *Torture* ordinary and extraordinary. He appealed from this Sentence to the *Parliament*, which was so far from relieving him, that it ordained he should suffer the *Torture* ordinary and extraordinary, *manentibus Inditiis*, the Proofs being reserved,

THIS

THIS *Arret* being put in Execution, though the *Sieur d'Anglade* acknowledged nothing, he was condemned by an *Arret* of the 16th of February following, of which I shall give the Reader an Abstract.

WITHOUT *Regard to the Petitions of d'Anglade, of the 13th of January, and 5th of February, the Court adjudge and condemn the said d'Anglade to be sent to the King's Gallies, to serve there at the Oar for the Space of Nine Years; and they Banish St. Martin (the Sieur d'Anglade's Wife) for Nine Years from the Town, Prevosty and Viscounty of Paris, under the Pains usual in such Cases if she should return; they condemn them also in twenty Livres to the King, and make a Restitution of 25623 Livres to the Sieur d'Montgomery, and to restore to him a Diamond Necklace, or to pay him 4000 Livres, which the said Sieur d'Montgomery, and Madam his Wife, have sworn to have lost, deducting only from thence the Sum of 5780 Livres and 5 Sols, which has been returned to the Sieur d'Montgomery, by the Sums found in the House, and by a double Pistole of Spain, and seventeen Louis D'Ors, found on the Person of d'Anglade when he was apprehended. They Condemn also d'Anglade, and the said St. Martin, to pay Costs; and they adjudge the same in the Cases of Maln and Robert (these were the Sieur d'Anglade's Servants.)*

It is to be observed, that the *Sieur d'Anglade*, and his *Wife*, are not declared guilty of the *Theft*, because they were not sentenced to a Capital Punishment,

nishment, which otherwise would have been their Fate; for in Cases of this Nature, where neither sufficient *Proofs* appear, nor the *Judges* can be of Opinion, that the Person accused is innocent, a lighter *Punishment* is inflicted, *Per modum Probationis*, as they Phrase it: How just the Reader will think this, I know not; but such is the Custom, in Consequence of which this unhappy Gentleman's Goods were sold, to the Uses mentioned in his Sentence, and as might have been expected, considering his Condition, were sold for a Trifle.

THE *Sieur d'Anglade* was at best but of a weak Constitution, and his Health very uncertain, he preserved it only by a delicate way of Living, and was consequently doubly unhappy under these Afflictions. The *Tortures* which he suffered destroyed the small Remains of his Constitution, and left him in a Condition so weak, and so deplorable; that no Pen can describe it.

HE sustained his Misfortunes, however, with great Serenity of Mind, nor did he discover any unmanly Weakness, when he was removed to a frightful *Dungeon* in the Tower of *Montgomery*, where he lay long in a loathsome Condition, without Assistance, without Friends, and without seeing any Body. Thence, weak and broken as he was, he was dragged to the Castle of *Tournelle*, in order to be chained to the *Oar*.

EXCESSIVE Labour soon put a Period to his Sufferings, he fell quickly into a Distemper, which hurried him out of the World; but he suffered not so much as a single Expression to escape him, which

which might testify the least Malice or Aversion towards his *Prosecutors*, or their *Witnesses*; he acknowledged his long *Imprisonment*, the *Tortures* he had undergone, and the tedious *Scene* of his *Misfortunes*, to have been the just *Punishments* of his *Sins*; in a Word, he prepared to die like a *Martyr* and a *Christian*, declaring that he pardon'd all his *Enemies*, though after taking the *Sacrament* of the *Eucharist*, he asserted in Writing, and by Word of Mouth, his *Innocence*, and then attended *Death* with all the Firmness imaginable. But *Heaven* had reserved him for yet farther *Sufferings*, he linger'd out Life 'till the Departure of the *Chain*, though he was confined in a miserable Place, and had nothing to support him but *Alms*.

IT is very confidently said, that the *Count de Montgomery* earnestly solicited that the *Sieur d'Anglade* should be sent away, before he was in any Degree recovered, and that after having obtained this, he went and waited upon the Road, in order to glut his Eyes with the Spectacle of this unhappy Man, in his wretched Condition. A Revenge so refined as this, does very little Honour to his Memory. 'Tis certainly one of the severest Strokes of their Punishment, that *Galley Slaves* are exposed to the Sight of all the World, as they are hurried along; for tho' the far greater Part of that Concourse of People look upon them with Eyes of Compassion, yet Pity itself afflicts a brave Mind, and the Pity of a Multitude must be excruciating.

IN the Case of the *Sieur d'Anglade*, these Evils were aggravated, for he was Innocent, and Jealous

lous of his Honour. Two Men lifted him, weak and disabled as he was, into a Carriage, and at Night they took him down from thence, and watched him in some Barn or Outhouse on the Road, where they procured leave for him to lie. The People, as he passed, demanded naturally, *What has the Sieur d'Anglade done ? What has the Sieur d'Anglade done ?* His Guards, convinced by his Behaviour, answered them constantly, *He has done nothing, he is Innocent.*

AT last he came to *Marseilles*, where he was immediately conducted to the Hospital of the *Galley Slaves*, from whence he was never carried out 'till he went to his Grave. He preserved in the Hospital the same Sentiments he had expressed in the Castle of *Tournelle* ; he murmured neither against *Providence*, nor against the *Judge* ; he never opened his Mouth but to bless G O D, and to return him Thanks for having, by this Method, convinced him of his *Sins*, and given him Time to repent of them ; he declared that he pardoned, without Reproof, all his Enemies, and all that they had done against him ; he seemed only concerned at the deplorable Condition into which his *Wife* and *Daughter* were reduced, and which seemed to touch him much more nearly than his own ; at last, however, this Concern wore off, and he professed with great Chearfulness and Assurance, that he left them with Pleasure to the Mercy of *Almighty God*, who would prove a powerful *Protector* to the One, and a tender *Parent* to the Other.

W H E N

W H E N he found himself expiring he called for a Priest, who administred to him the Eucharist, asserting his Innocence with his last Breath, and appealing to the Sovereign Judge of the Universe who could discern the Truth, though covered with doubtful Appearances, and who at his Tribunal wanted neither Forms nor Law. Such was the End of the *Sieur de Anglade*, who died in the Hospital of Gally Slaves at *Marseilles*, on the 4th of *March*, 1689; four Months after he had been brought thither.

I F *Madam de Anglade* survived her Husband, it was not at all owing to her receiving better Treatment than he. She was with Child when she was imprisoned; but her Fright made such an Impression on her Spirits, that it threw her into a wretched Condition, she had such a Flux of Blood, as reduced her to the last Degree of Weakness, in the miserable Hole where she was put. In this Distress she had no Comfort, but the Presence of her Daughter, a Child of about five Years old, who gave her now and then a piece of Bread sopped in Wine, to support her in her Convulsions and Swoonings. After having frequently demanded it, a Confessor was at last sent to her, who gave her Spiritual Comfort, and God regarding her with the same Eye, which he had done her Husband, enabled her by his Grace, to endure all these Calamities with Patience, and to forgive her Enemies from the very Bottom of her Heart.

N o sooner was the poor Lady a little better, than her Daughter fell sick: What Pen can express

press the Rigour of Maternal Anguish, the Child's Distemper was attended with cold Sweats ; so that she seemed to be immersed in Water ; the poor Woman had neither Cloaths to cover her, nor Fire to warm her ; they had indeed sometimes a little Charcoal given them in an earthen Pot, but it made an unwholsome Fire at the best, and was often out. Physicians she had none, nor any Thing to subsist on, but the Alms given to the Prison, which was so small, that never any Creatures were more miserable.

AFTER a Time they were removed into another Chamber out of Favour ; but sure the Favour was not great, for though there was a Window in the Room, yet it was close shut, so that no Air could enter, and they were frequently on the Point of being smothered by the Smoak of the Charcoal. One may safely say, that Heaven by a kind of Miracle, preserved both the Mother and the Daughter, the one to see her Honour restored, and to receive a Recompence for the Evils she had endured, the other to inherit as a great Portion, the revived Characters of her Parents, whose Sufferings gave their Innocence a double Lustre. Such was the hard Fate of the *Sieur de Anglade*, such hitherto the Sorrows of his Family, we shall now behold better Things.

A very short Time after the Decease of the unhappy Gentleman, of whom we have been speaking, certain anonymous Letters were sent into the World, wherein the Author declared, that having determined to retire into a *Cloister*, it was necessary to discharge the Guilt of a loaded Conscience, and, to declare that

that the *Sieur d'Anglade* was no ways concern'd in the Robbery, with which he had been charged; but that it was committed by *Vincent Bellestre*, the Son of a *Farmer* at *Mans*, and by a *Priest*, one *Gagnard*, who was of the same Place, and *Chaplain* to the *Count de Montgomery*, and that a Woman, whose Name was *de la Comble*, could give them farther Lights.

THE *Lieutenant Criminal* received one of these Letters, which he put into the Hand of *Des Grais*, his *Exempt*; the *Lady Montgomery* received another, which she concealed; the *Sieur de Loyfillon*, a Friend of theirs, received a third, of which Use was made in the Process against the *Criminals*. The *Count's* Friends gave out, that this was only an Artifice of *Madam d'Anglade*, in order to throw her own Crimes upon other People, and so open a Passage to Favour and Pardon for herself.

INSTRUCTIONS were however given to proper Persons, to enquire into the Character of *Bellestre* and *Gagnard*, who had now quitted the Service of the *Count*, they discovered that *Bellestre*, in his Youth, had been concerned in assassinating a Man, for which he had quitted his own Country, and listd himself in the *French Troops*; that he afterwards deserted, for having killed a *Sergeant*; that at *Mans* and at *Paris* he had rambled about as a Vagabond, and lived like a Beggar, without Cloaths, and without a Home; that a strict Intimacy had been observed between him and *Gagnard*; that all at once his Condition was quite alter'd, and instead of his former Poverty, his

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Pockets were well furnished both with Gold and Silver, and he had not only Cloaths, but Cloaths richly laced; nay more, he had purchased an Estate near *Mans*, for ten thousand *Livres*.

WITH Respect to *Gagnard*, they found that his Beginning was full as miserable as that of his Companion; that he was the Son of the *Jaylor* of *Mans*, all whose Fortune had been taken in Execution; that he subsisted sometimes by saying *Messes* to the *Holy Ghost*; that on his coming into the House of the Count *Montgomery*, he was known to be very far from Riche; but since he came away, he had lived at a profuse Expence, his Ecclesiastical Habits were as fine as could be had; and that a Girl he kept wanted neither Fringes, nor Laces, nor Linnen, nor Silks, nor all the other Baubles, which the Luxury of latter Times have invented, to gratify the excessive Vanity of Women, at the Expence of those that have to do with them.

ALL this, added to the Letters we have spoken of before, very strongly suggested that these People had actually procured the Condemnation of the *Sieur d'Anglade* and his *Wife*. But they did not proceed to apprehend the Villains. Heaven itself interposed in this Particular, for the Justification of the Innocent. *Gagnard* was sent to the *Chatelet*, for being present at the Death of a Man, in a Publick-House in *St. Andrew's-street*; a little while after, *Bellestre* was sent to the Prison of *Versailles*, by Virtue of a Decree of the *Provost* of the *Housshold*, granted against him three Years before, at the Suit of a *Merchant*, who followed the Court.

THIS *Bellestre* and another had drawn in the *Merchant*, and robbed him of some Money, besides taking away Cloth to the Value of *five hundred Livres*. Amongst the Witnesses, examined on this Occasion, was *Mrs. de la Comble*, who gave so distinct an Account of the Robbery, committed on the *Count de Montgomery*, by *Bellestre* and *Gagnard*, that the latter was immediately ordered to be removed from the *Chatelet* to the Prison of *Versailles*, he having been already acquitted in respect to the Murder of the Man, at whose Death he was present; two or three Witnesses would have been sufficient to have convicted these Persons, but Providence did not leave this Work imperfect, they confronted with *Bellestre* a Witness whom he did not apprehend to know any Thing of the Fact.

THE Accused imprudently cry'd out, that this Witness was a Companion of *M. Giraut*, the *Abbe Lontaine*, *la Roque*, and *la Fond*; upon this it was concluded, that these People might have some Knowledge of the Matter, the King's Attorney therefore pray'd that Search might be made for them; this was accordingly ordered, they were easily found, and they gave such Accounts, as put the Guilt of the Persons accused out of all Question.

WHILE the Process was carried on against *Bellestre* and *Gagnard*, the young *Constantia*, Daughter to the *Sieur d'Anglade*, by her Guardian intervened, and demanded that the Parties accused should be declared guilty of the Robbery of

the Count *de Montgomery*, and the Memory of her *Father* and *Mother* justify'd. Two Things were offered to be proved in this Petition of hers; *first*, that there were Proofs enough to fix the Robbery upon *Bellestre* and *Gagnard*; *secondly*, that this being so, the Sentence against her *Father* and *Mother* ought necessarily to be repealed.

THE original Complaint of the Count *de Montgomery* proved, that at his Return the Windows and the Doors of the Appartment, where the Theft was committed, were fast as he left them, from whence it followed of Course that false Keys were made use of. The Depositions of the Witnesses in this new Process fully proved, that *Bellestre* himself made false Keys, that for this Purpose he bought old Keys, and by the help of Files adjusted them to the Locks which he thought fit to open; that after having shewn the Money to one of the Witnesses, he afterwards shew'd him they Key, telling him at the same Time, *Do you see this, it is a golden Key, and brought me all this Money*; the Witness asked him how? He said, *That he took an Impression in Wax of any Key he intended to Counterfeit, and adjusted any Key he had by him to that Pattern in Wax, by the help of small Files.*

IT is certain that the Robbery, which was now canvassed, could be committed no other way than by the help of false Keys, it appeared plainly that *Bellestre* had been an Artist that way, and that he had employed them with Success in other Robberies; that by the help of *Gagnard* he might easily have the Keys necessary to be counterfeited for this Robbery; that they had both of them, from the
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Time that the *Count* was Robbed, lived in the greatest Splendor and Abundance, and from the worst Situation in the World, passed in all human Appearance to the best. This was enough to have convicted them ; but if we add to these Circumstances, those of the strict Intimacy that subsisted between these *Criminals*, and the wretched Character that each of them had, it is almost impossible that one should doubt of their being accused with Justice.

SUCH were the Presumptions offered in Proof against these atrocious Villains, strong and glaring indeed they were ; but after all they were but Presumptions, there followed however *Testimony* that amounted to *Demonstration*.

AFTER the Robbery, *Bellestre* shewed one of the Witnesses a hundred *Louis d'Ors* rouled up ; the same Witness deposed, that he believed as firmly that *Bellestre* and *Gagnard* had robbed the *Count*, as that there was a *GOD* in *Heaven*. That standing at the Door of a Room, in which *Bellestre* and *Gagnard* were eating, he heard the following Conversation ; *Bellestre* said to *Gagnard*, *Let us eat and drink my Friend, and let us be Merry, while the Marquis is in the Gaileys*. *Gagnard* answered with a deep Sigh, *I am sorry for him, he was a very honest Man, and has done me a great many good Turns*. *Well ! Well !* (replied *Bellestre*) *why should you be sorry for a Man, whose Mishap has made our Fortune* ; this Witness added, that *Gagnard* having a Suspicion that they might be betray'd by the Witness, from what he had overheard,

heard, *Bellestre* answer'd briskly, *If I thought so, I would assassinate him.*

THE Witness added, that these two Robbers being surprized by *de la Comble*, who brought them their Wine, they were very uneasy, because they were afraid she had their Lives in her Power. This Witness was called the *Abbe Fontpeire*, and was the same Person who had wrote the Letters, whereby the whole of this Fact was brought to Light; the *Abbe* further affirmed, that *Bellestre* did as good as confess the Robbing the Count *de Montgomery*, at the Time he shewed him the hundred *Louis d'Ors* in a Roleau, a great deal of other Money, and some false Keys. He added likewise, as to *Gagnard*, that he once said to him in a jesting Manner, *Do you think that a Marquiss (whom they called the Marquis d'Anglade) stole ten or twelve Thousand Crowns from the Count of Montgomery?*

MRS. *de la Comble*, in whom *Bellestre* confided very much, deposed roundly, That he had shewn her a great Sum of Money in Gold and Silver, immediately after the Robbery, and also a fine Pearl Necklace, saying to her at the same Time, with an Air of Triumph, *See! See! What I have got for you*; upon which she reply'd briskly, *O my God! Where got you this Money and Necklace*; upon which he said, that he had won them at Play. She said, that sometime before he told her, that he was going to strike a Stroke with the *Abbe Gagnard*, that would make him easy all the rest of their Lives, that in order thereto he was obliged to wake him early, and that thereupon, He, *Bellestre*,

lestre, gave him the Signal, by throwing up a Stone at his Window. That being at *Luxemburg* with *Bellestre*, he bid her go out of the Room, adding at the same Time, *Come, get you gone, here are Gentlemen going to divide*; that as she went out, she saw the *Abbe Gagnard* come up to him, whom at that Time she did not know, who appeared in some Confusion.

UPON questioning *Bellestre* about this Expression, he answered very readily, That *Gagnard* and He were Partners at Play, and that he might very possibly call upon him for an Account. *Gagnard*, being interrogated upon the same Subject, deny'd that he had ever any Partnership with *Bellestre* at Play, this was a strong Circumstance against them. Mrs. *la Comble* deposed, that another Time she saw a fine Pearl Necklace in the Hands of *Bellestre*, and that she had also seen in a Belt of his a hundred *Louis d'Ors*, put up in a *Roleau*.

BELLESTRE owned that he was wont to carry such a Sum in a *Roleau* in his Belt. Mrs. *de la Comble* said also, that she once took the Liberty of speaking to *Bellestre* upon this Subject, and of telling him that he certainly did the Persons great Injury, from whom he took that great Sum of Money, and these fine Things; to which he reply'd, That all the good Things in the World belonged to Mankind in common, and that in seizing a Part, he only vindicated his Right as other Men did. This Deposition brought to Light the hundred *Louis d'Ors*, and the *Pearl Necklace*, which the Count *de Montgomery* had lost.

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THE same Witness deposed, with Respect to the Woman kept by *Gagnard*, that she had been delivered of a Son within six Weeks last past, of whom she asserted the *Priest* to be the Father ; it was also said, thar since the Robbery, *Bellestre* had acquired an Estate of six or seven Thousand *Livres*, in the Territory of *Main*, and the very Writings, whereby he purchased it, was produced. It was also discovered how *Gagnard* had employed his Money, and the Woman he kept, upon Examination, acknowledged what had been said so often to be true.

OTHER Witnesses discovered other Circumstances, which gave new Light to a Truth which *Providence* had decreed should no longer be smothered, what was very surprizing in this Affair, was the *Notoriety* of the Thing ; at the very Time two innocent People were imprisoned, prosecuted and condemned for this Robbery, there was not a *Thief* in *Paris*, who did not very well know that no Body was concerned in it but *Bellestre* and *Gagnard*, it was their Discourse among one another upon *Pontneuf*, and the Spite they had conceived against these two Fellows, for getting such a Booty, and suffering no Body to share it, made the first Noise, that these Men were the *Criminals*.

THERE was found upon *Bellestre*, when he was seized and searched, a *Dutch Gazette*, in which there was a Paragraph, that asserted the Persons who really committed the Robbery, charged on the *Sieur d'Anglade*, were actually executed for other Things at *Orleans* ; and with this there was found

a Note from *Gagnard*, in which he advised *Bellestre* to take Care of himself, and that he should some way or other take off the *Abbe de Fontpierre*, of whom he had some Suspicion. These Things made much against them.

THE Priest, *Gagnard*, endeavoured to defend himself in some Measure, by saying he was in the Country when the Robbery was committed; but that he had sent up from thence the Keys to *Bellestre*, who got false ones made by them, and that he had afterwards divided the Spoil with him. *Bellestre*, when he was charged with this Matter, and asked what Account he could give of the Money which was proved to be in his Hands, pretended he had acquired it in the Army, and that he had particularly won *two thousand Livres* of it at Play from a *Hussar*. On a strict Examination of the Stories he told on this Head, they were found to be downright Falshoods.

ONE would have thought here were Proofs enough against these *Villains*, considering how well they tallied, and how exactly they supported each other, as a few suspicious Accidents, and very dark and obscure Conjectures, had been held sufficient for the Conviction of two Persons of some Consideration in the World; it could hardly be supposed that much stronger Proofs should fail against Rogues of the most infamous Character, and who were able to say nothing for themselves, which had so much as the Appearance of Truth.

MADAMOISELLE *d'Anglade* had undertaken to shew, by her second Interposition, that the Sen-

tence, whereby her *Father* and *Mother* were condemned, could not be of any Use to *Bellestre* and *Gagnard*, and that it ought not to be concluded from thence that they were not the Authors of the Fact, since the *Sieur d'Anglade* and his *Wife* were punished as the sole Perpetrators thereof. This second Proposition was establish'd, by comparing the dark and ambiguous Circumstances, on which these two *Innocents* had suffered, with the clear and evident Proofs, offered in Support of the Charge against *Bellestre* and *Gagnard*, from whence the Veracity of this second Allegation indisputably appear'd.

THE *Gallows* put an End to the wicked Lives of these abominable Men. *Bellestre* endured the *Question*, without confessing any Thing; *Gagnard* had not the same Constancy, or rather Obstinacy, he freely confessed his Crime, as did *Bellestre* also when he came to the Place of *Execution*. *Gagnard* said, That if the *Lieutenant Criminal* had examined him at the Time he searched the House, he was under such Oppression of Mind, that he was determined to confess the whole, and to clear those *innocent Persons*.

As there was now no longer any Question of the *Sieur d'Anglade* and his *Wife's* Innocence, *Madam d'Anglade* easily procured Letters of Revision to the Parliament. This was a new Suit, wherein the unhappy Lady sought some Reparation for the mighty Damage herself and Family had sustained. On the other Hand, the *Count de Montgomery* alleged he had all along pursued Justice, and as that was his Aim, he ought not to be punished for it.

To

To give an exact Detail of all the Proceedings in this Cause, would lead us into a long and tedious Labyrinth, let us content ourselves therefore with a View, as concise as may be, of the principal Things alledged on each Side, and of the most cogent Arguments, and most authentick Authorities, which appeared in the Progress of this Debate.

To begin then with the Count's Defence.

THE unfortunate State of the *Sieur d'Anglade*, and his *Family*, has excited Compassion. The Publick has deplored their Destiny, the *Count de Montgomery* himself has endured the most pungent Affliction, for having been the innocent Cause of their Misfortunes. The innocent Cause he may certainly be called, for nothing criminal can be charged on him. The Accusation was a Misfortune on him, as well as upon them. A Person robbed of so considerable a Sum as this, might very well be solicitous to find out the Thief, nor was it to be express'd that this Nobleman should have more Penetration in a Case of this Nature, than the Judge, whose proper Office it was to take Cognizance thereof.

THIS is the Effect of the Misery and Ignorance of Man, it is an Evil inseperable from him not to be infallible. The *Sieur d'Anglade* and his *Wife* were the first Accusers of themselves, a Confidence too affected at the Beginning, follow'd by Weakness and Trembling, the Variations and Contradictions of both *Husband* and *Wife*, and the other Suspi-

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cions, which they gave by their Conduct, accused them, before the Count of *Montgomery* brought any Charge against them, they ought therefore to be looked on as the Authors of their own Disgrace.

MADAM *d'Anglade*, in accusing the Count of *Montgomery*, and in employing against him Expressions the most violent, shews us plainly that how just soever her Grief may be, yet she cannot help mingling in the most reasonable Actions, the Effects of Passion, and Motives the most unjust; and that Anger and Interest as strongly Influence her present Conduct, as the Desire of vindicating her *Innocence*, and the Zeal she has for the Memory of her *Husband*.

THE Count afterwards undertakes to prove, *first*, That all the Circumstances of this Accusation concur in shewing his Integrity in this Business, where he only followed the Circumstances pointed out by the Judges, and furnished by the Accused themselves. *Secondly*, That an Error which had deceived the Magistrates, and the Publick, could not justly be made the Foundation of an Action for Damages.

THE Truth of the Robbery, being acknowledged on all Hands, served to prove the Uprightness of the Count of *Montgomery*, nor can it be presumed that he would have shewn any Indulgence towards those who were really Guilty, since if he had prosecuted them at that Time, he would certainly have recovered all that was stolen from him, the whole not being dissipated even when
Gagnard

Gagnard and *Bellestre* were taken ; whereas, by prosecuting an innocent Man, he quitted a certain Restitution, to wait the Event of an Accufation very dangerous and very uncertian.

THE Complaint of the Count of *Montgomery* proves plainly, that he had no Design to accufe the *Sieur d'Anglade* or his Lady, it carrying in it a Demonstration of the *Count's* Mildness and Moderation, even in the Midst of his Grief, for so great a Loss. He speaks therein only of the Robbery committed, and his Suspicion that it must have been done by Somebody within the House ; but in the Midst of the Emotion, natural on such an Occasion, he names Nobody.

IN Respect to the *Sieur d'Anglade* and his *Spouse*, many odd Circumstances appear'd, they were not ignorant of his having the Money in the House, for they had propos'd to him a Method of employing it to his Advantage ; they made use of frivolous Excuses to avoid going to the *Count's* Country-Seat ; at their Departure they had the Key of the Street-Door given them. That the *Sieur d'Anglade* supped with them the Night of the Robbery, which was not usual with him ; that he was best acquainted of any Body with the whole House, having himself lived in the Apartment, at that Time possess'd by the *Sieur de Montgomery* ; and as the Robbery could not be committed, but by the help of false Keys, there appeared strong Reason to suspect the *Sieur d'Anglade*. However, the Count *de Montgomery* never accus'd him 'till after he had made (as it were) an Offering

Offering of himself to Justice, and the *Lieutenant Criminal* suspected that he was guilty.

MADAM *d'Anglade* did tell him in Confidence, that he ought to seize his *Valet de Chambre*, and search his Room, in order to see if there was not something hid there. The Precipitation, with which this Gentlewoman accused the Man, whom the Count *de Montgomery* did not at all suspect, surprized the Judge, he knew that that *Valet de Chambre* had follow'd his Master into the Country; and he told Madam *d'Anglade* of this, as soon as she had suggested that he might be guilty; but she answered, that it was not impossible for him to have left a Person concealed in his Room, who might have perpetrated the Fact in his Absence, and that she had heard it said, that the Door of this Man's Chamber was found shut too, but not locked.

THIS Observation of the Door's being open, and the Suggestion that something might be found in that Room, where in Truth somewhat was found, was a violent Presumption that Madam *D'Anglade* knew more of the Matter than she ought; besides, according to the Remark of *M. Le Nain*, Reporter to the Parliament, Mrs. *Formeny*, whom Madam *D'Anglade* accused, could not possibly be guilty, because she had not the Keys of the Street-Door, and could not therefore carry away any Thing that was stolen; the same Thing might be said as to any Person who was hid in the *Valet de Chambre's* Room.

THE

THE *Lieutenant Criminal*, after having taken a View of the Place where the Robbery was committed, was conducted by the *Sieur d'Anglade* into his own Appartment, and afterwards into his Store-Room; *Madam d'Anglade* did not go up, because she said she was weak and out of Order. This Excuse, which did not appear to be well founded, was observed by an exact Judge, who laid together even the smallest Circumstances, in order to discover the Authors of this Crime.

THE *Sieur d'Anglade* opened in this Store Room of his a Trunk, in which were some Linen, Parchment, and other Things, and among these were found Sixty *Louis d'Ors* in a *Roleau*, some coined in the Year 1686, some in the Year 1687, wrapped up in a Piece of Paper. This Discovery appeared a very considerable Circumstance to the *Lieutenant Criminal*, because the Count de *Montgomery*, had specified in his Complaint, that he had been robb'd of a hundred *Louis d'Ors* in a *Roleau*. These Coins were very scarce.

TWO Circumstances supported the Suspicion drawn from hence, the *first* was, that on the *Lieutenant Criminal's* demanding of the *Sieur d'Anglade* how he came by these new *Louis d'Ors*, he promised to give a good Account; but afterwards spoke confusedly, and with uncertainty. *Secondly*, while he counted these *Louis d'Ors* into his Hat, his Hand trembled, upon which he said Laughing, and by way of Raillery, *See my Hand Shakes*.

ALL

ALL the Learned, who have spoke as to criminal Matters, have regarded Fear in a Person accused, his changing Colour and Trembling, as Signs of Guilt, and strong Symptoms of the Iniquity of the Heart. The *Scripture* itself informs us, *That the Guilty furnish by their Fears, the Means of their own Condemnation.* It is very true that they agree also, that the Presence of a Judge may cause a Tremor in an innocent Person of a weak Disposition. But the *Sieur d'Anglade* had testified so high a Degree of Courage, at the coming in of the *Lieutenant Criminal*, that it was impossible to impute his Trembling to any Fear, an innocent Person might be under for fear of an Accusation, but rather as the Effect of an unquiet Conscience, which in spite of a false Bravery forced this Sign of Trouble within.

MADAM *d'Anglade* ought to accuse her own ill Fortune, the *Louis d'Ors* in the *Roleau*, the equivocal Answers of her Husband, and his trembling, which succeeding an extraordinary Assurance, determined the Opinion of the Judge, and form'd a strong Presumption against the *Sieur d'Anglade*. And tho' it may be said that we find all these Circumstances to have been false at this Day; yet as Men have no other Guides than their Integrity, and these Judgments, they were very excusable for what they then did; because the *Lieutenant Criminal*, in supposing the *Sieur d'Anglade* guilty, supposed only what all the World would have thought in a Case of the like Nature.

ALL

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ALL these Instances having been observed by the *Lieutenant Criminal*, previous to the Count of *Montgomery's* charging the *Sieur d'Anglade*, they struck that Judge so forcibly, that he told Mr. and Mrs. *d'Anglade*, that either they committed the Robbery or he. Things were in this State when the Count of *Montgomery* charged both Husband and Wife, and surely nothing but Prudence, good Sense, and Regard for his Interest, could have obliged him thereto.

HE saw himself in the Midst of a Number of Persons, some of whom he knew must have been guilty of this Robbery, yet there was no convincing Proofs who they were, if therefore the *Sieur d'Anglade* and his Wife took such Steps, as forced them into the Hands of Justice, and made them appear guilty in the Eye of their Judge, was the Count of *Montgomery* obliged to be blind to these Circumstances, and to all hopes of Restitution, in Respect to so considerable a Loss.

BUT there were other Proofs of his Integrity, the Husband and Wife were interrogated separately, as to the *Louis d'Ors*, the Husband declared that he had never acquainted his Wife with the laying up that Gold; the Woman affirmed, that she did know of their laying up, and that they had counted them often together; the Husband said, that it was three Weeks or a Month since he had touched them; the Wife acknowledged that it was not above four Days; these Contradictions appeared to the Judge Circumstances very strongly against them, though they could not be looked upon
as

as Proofs of their directly taking away the hundred *Louis d'Ors*, belonging to the *Count* ; if the giving heed to Things of this Nature be amiss, then the Usage of all Tribunals, and the received Maxims of the most equitable Courts, must at once be set aside, since according to them Contradictions are always allow'd to imply Guilt.

Is it possible after this, to reproach the *Count de Montgomery*, for having let slip *Gagnard*, who was the real Criminal, in order to fall upon these innocent Persons? Was it possible for the *Count* to make himself Master of a Secret at that Time impenetrable in its Nature, since *Bellestre*, in his last Words affirms, that what he did was only known to his Accomplice and to God Almighty? The *Dame d'Anglade* acknowledges herself, that it was by a kind of Miracle the Truth was at last brought to Light, while such strong Suspicions subsisted against *M. d'Anglade* and his *Wife* ; could it be expected from the *Count de Montgomery*, that he should seize upon *Bellestre*, of whom he knew nothing at all ; *Gagnard* had followed him into the Country, *Madam d'Anglade* never insinuated any Suspicion of him, if she thought him guilty, what hindered her speaking? Especially when she directly attacked the *Valet de Chambre*, who appears to have been absolutely Innocent.

IF the *Count de Montgomery* had no Suspicion of his own Domesticks, it was because most of them had been with him in the Country, and as for those who remained in Town, *Gagnard* and *Bellestre* have fully justified their Innocence, whom then could he suspect? The Suspicions at that
Time

Time were strong against *M. d'Anglade* and his *Wife*, in the Opinion of the *Lieutenant Criminal*, and it was therefore very natural to admit the Servants, who were unsuspected, to give Evidence against Persons formally accused.

WHEN the *Sieur d'Anglade* suggested against the *Lieutenant Criminal*, that he had not done his Duty, because he did not examine these Domesticks strictly, the Court refused to take any Notice of so frivolous a Reason.

SEVERAL Variations and Contradictions, into which the *Sieur d'Anglade* fell in his Interrogatories, and the little Sincerity he shew'd in speaking of his Fortune and Effects; his Assurance, in assuming the Rank of a Gentleman, though he acknowledged he did not know what Profession his Father was of; his Malignity in affirming, that in his Conscience he believed the Lady *Montgomery*, out of Spite to her Husband, had consented to this Robbery; that 'Temerity with which he accused the *Count's Valet de Chambre*, and the *Countess's* Woman, of being concerned therein; the ridiculous Airs of Vanity he put on, though all the World knew they suited neither with his Birth nor Fortune; the magnificent Description he gave of the *Castle d'Anglade*, which on Examination appear'd to be only a Heap of Ruins, without a Shilling of Revenue; his lending Money upon Pawns, which appear'd by the People's reclaiming them, to whom they belonged; all these were strong Circumstances against him and his Wife; their different Stories; their Contradictions; the odd Facts that came out, and the unaccountable
Stories

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Stories told of him, did not take their Rise from the Count *de Montgomery*. Why then should the natural Consequence of them be imputed to him as a Crime ?

IT was considered that he lived in the House where the Theft was committed, and had thereby a palpable Opportunity of perpetrating it ; this was a probable Cause of suspecting ; again, his Fortune was known to be very small, arising from a little Estate in *Bayonne*, and the Interest of the Sum of 6000 *Livres*, due to him from the Duke *de Grammont*. He kept however a Coach, had a great Number of Servants, lived in a magnificent Appartment, and plaid very high, these were unlucky Appearances.

THE *Sieur d'Anglade* had been the principal Person in that House, before the Count *de Montgomery* entered it. The *Sieur Grimodet*, who had lodged under the *Sieur d'Anglade*, in the very Appartment which the Count had, had the Misfortune of being robb'd, he lost his Silver Plate, and a Key of his Chamber Door. It is true no Body accused the *Sieur d'Anglade* of this Robbery ; but sure no Body can blame the Count for having some Suspicion of him, when a second Robbery was committed in the same Appartment ; nor can it be denied, that these Suspicions might be well fortify'd, by the Consideration of the Arts the *Sieur d'Anglade* made use of, to conceal the true State of his Affairs, that it might not be known, he was prefed by Necessity to such Practices.

IT is certain that all these Circumstances and Presumptions were not properly speaking Proofs, and that it was impossible from them to judge distinctly who was the Author of these Crimes; but in all criminal Cases whatsoever, it has been agreed that Circumstances have some Weight. That there are Circumstances so clear, and so conclusive, as to amount to Proofs, and that a great Number of dubious Circumstances, when taken together, may be allowed to have the Force of a strong or clear Circumstance. It was not to be expected that the whole Course of Proceedings should be altered in this Case, or that in Respect to the *Sieur d'Anglade*, such Evidence should have been rejected, as would have been heard at least in any other Case.

IT must be owned, that the Knowledge Madam *d'Anglade*, as well as her Husband, had of the Count *de Montgomery's* having such a Sum of Money in the House, the slight Excuse they thought fit to make to avoid their going to *Villeboussin*, their having the Keys of the Street Door in their Hands at the Time the Robbery was committed; Madam *d'Anglade's* pointing out the Place where Part of the very Money was hid; the Discovery of the Seventy *Louis d'Ors*, in a *Roleau*; the pretended Weakness of Madam *d'Anglade*; the trembling of her Husband; their equivocal Answers, and their evident Contradictions, had they been taken separately, would certainly have passed for shrewd Tokens of Guilt, and when united in a Body, were certainly small Signs of Innocence; it would be an easy Matter to quote a Multitude of Authorities from the Civil Law, to prove that

Things

Things of this Nature were ever thought sufficient to ground an Accufation upon.

THESE Things being confidered, it muft indubitably follow, that the Count *de Montgomery* is clear of all Blame, if there was fufficient Cause to accufe, he did no more, therefore he did nothing amifs; the Confession of a Criminal has been always looked upon as the cleareft Proof; yet *Charondas* reports a Cafe, wherein a Husband, accused of killing his Wife, confessed the Fact, and thereupon received Judgment to die; but was afterwards acquitted, and fet at Liberty, on his Wife's appearing, and thereby proving his Confession false.

THE Event of this Business has proved the *Sieur d'Anglade* innocent. True. But how does it shew that the Accufation was ill framed? Do they pretend to falsify the Circumstances upon which he was accused? No! What then has his Innocence to do with the Count *de Montgomery's* Prosecution? If that Nobleman had known it, he would not have prosecuted it; but not knowing of it, and being deceived by Appearances, he did prosecute him, this was an Error, but no Crime.

IN vain do they alledge, that the Constancy of the *Sieur d'Anglade*, in suffering the *Torture*, ought to have pass'd for a certain Proof of his Innocence, nothing can be more equivocal than the Reasonings on this Subject. It is very possible that guilty Persons may have Courage enough to stand the *Torture*, in hopes of getting free; and that some innocent Persons may be tempted to accuse themselves,

selves, may we not say, that the *Torture* is a Method to save Robust Criminals, and to send innocent Persons, of a weak Constitution out of the World ; but the *Sieur d'Anglade* resisted this Trial, though his Constitution was very delicate ; yet so did *Bellestre*, in the Case of the former it was Courage, in the Case of the latter, it was the fear of Death which produced Spirits. And yet at the same Time we see *Gagnard*, when he underwent the Test, readily acknowledged his Crime, from the Cogency of Pain, doubtless, not from the Force of Truth.

IF ever Circumstances and Presumptions deserved to be heeded, surely they ought to have been considered here. The Fact was perpetrated in the Night, there was therefore no precise or formal Evidence to be had, the same Obscurity reigning over Facts, as over the Face of Heaven, at the Time it was committed.

HIPPOLITUS of *Marseilles*, a celebrated Author in Cases of this Nature says, That where a Crime is very secret, such as in a private Robbery, Sentence may be pronounced upon Conjectures, if those Conjectures are very clear. *Farinatus* decides exactly in the same Manner, in respect to Crimes committed in the Night, and which cannot easily be proved ; for as to these he says, Presumptions are Proofs strong enough to induce Condemnation.

JULIUS CLARUS, in his 20th. Question of his fifth Book, remarks, That Presumptions are sufficient to ground a Sentence upon, in
Crimes

Crimes very dark, tho' in such Cases he thinks the Punishment ought to be moderated, and that instead of suffering Death, it may suffice if the Criminal is sent to the Gallies or whipt. He reports several Cases to this Purpose, One particularly, wherein even capital Punishment was done upon the Offender, tho' Presumptions only appeared. This is also the Sentiment of *Matheus*, and of a great Number of other eminent Authors, whose Names we need not repeat.

As to what is objected, in relation to producing the *Count's* Servants to give Evidence against the *Sieur d'Anglade* and his Wife, there is without doubt very little in it, the Nature of their Places, the Manner of their fastening the Door, and the Situation of the Rooms, made them natural and necessary Evidences in such a Case. The *Count de Montgomery's* raking into the *Sieur d'Anglade's* Character, has been censured, but why? Every Body knows that a strict Inquisition into the Character of a Person, charged with a Capital Offence, is usual, and thought a very natural kind of Evidence, how comes it then to be criminal in the *Count*?

THE *Count de Montgomery* proceeded next to the Proof of the second Proposition, advanced in his Defence, which was, that though his Accusation proved erroneous, yet it ought not to oblige him to repair the *Sieur d'Anglade's* Family in Damages.

IT was urged on this Head, that the Law distinguish'd between Calumny and a mistaken Charge.

Charge, and that though it's Severity was very great, in Cases where Prosecutions were carried on out of Malice, yet it was ever indulgent to Prosecutors, who erred without Design, and whose Intentions were perfectly right. In Support of this Doctrine, they urged the following Testimony from the Civil Law.

“ HE who proves not his Accusation, is not always to be regarded as a Calumniator, the Decision of this Point ought to rest upon the Judge, who having discharged the Person accused, ought next to examine the Motives that induced the Prosecution, if he find the Prosecutor acted merely through a Mistake, then he ought to discharge him likewise ; but if he discern in his Proceedings a malicious Intent, then he ought to punish him in the Manner he deserves.” Various other Authorities of the like Nature, too long to be inserted here, were cited to establish the same Maxim.

It was farther urged, that the Count *de Montgomery* stood properly not so much on his own Defence, as in Defence of the Sentence of that Court, wherein the *Sieur d'Anglade* and his Wife were condemned. In sentencing the Persons accused (said the Advocate for the Count) the Court adopted the Error of the Accuser, and thereby rendered themselves accountable, and justify'd him ; ought it to be expected that the Count should be clearer in this Matter than the Judges, who believed the *Sieur d'Anglade* and his Wife guilty ? If the Court, with all the Circumspection, Exactness and Application, visible in its Proceedings, could not penetrate the

Truth in this mysterious Affair, why should the Count *de Montgomery* be thought capable of looking farther into it than they ? It is acknowledged on all Hands, that by the Conviction of *Bellestre* and *Gagnard*, the Innocence of the *Sieur d'Anglade* and his Wife is rendered evident, and the Letters of Repeal, which the Lady *d'Anglade* has obtained, effectually wipe off those Stains which the Mistake in the first Prosecution had thrown on her Fame, and on that of her Husband, what other Recompence then ought they to have ?

To set this Case in a proper Light, a famous Decision of Parliament was granted, which was pronounced in the Presence of King *Henry IV.* and the Duke of *Savoy*, the Matter in few Words stood thus.

“ *JOHN PROST*, being assassinated in
 “ *Paris*, his Mother, led by certain suspicious Circumstances, charged *Henry Bellinger*, the Man,
 “ in whose House her Son lodged, with his Murder, and in the Course of her Prosecution, she
 “ involved *Bellinger's* Wife and his Maid-Servant.
 “ The unhappy Man faltered so much in his Answers, and fell into such palpable Absurdities
 “ and Contradictions, that he was adjudged to suffer the *Torture* ordinary and extraordinary, and
 “ that his Wife and Servant should be present when
 “ he was tortured, and endure it afterwards. The
 “ Husband endured all without confessing any
 “ Thing, and was a short Time afterwards discharged, by an Accident not unlike what has
 “ happen'd in the present Case,

“ TWO

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“ Two Thieves, convicted for capital Crimes,
“ when they came to suffer Death, acknowledged
“ that they had assassinated *John Prost. Bellinger*
“ thereupon demanded Reparation and Damages
“ against the Mother ; but by Sentence of Parlia-
“ ment he was only declared Innocent, and had
“ neither Reparation nor Damages, it being the
“ Opinion of his Judges, that the Prosecutrix was
“ in an innocent Error, and did nothing which
“ deserved either Censure or Punishment.

THERE was cited on this Occasion another extraordinary Sentence in the same Court, which was thought to come still closer to the present Point. “ *Charles Bligny* was condemned to suffer
“ Death, by Sentence of the Bailiff of *Bourg-la-Reine*, for Murder. By an Arret of the 5th of
“ *June*, 1643, his Sentence was moderated, and he
“ condemned to the *Galleys*. He obtained Letters
“ of Revision in the Month of *October*, in the same
“ Year, wherein he demanded a free Pardon, together with Relief against *Louis a Roussélet*, Widow
“ of *Nicholas Huot*, who was his Prosecutrix.
“ He likewise demanded Damages against the
“ Judge of *Bourg-la-Reine*. The Parliament, by
“ an Arret of the 6th of *June*, 1646, admitted
“ the Facts offered in Justification of *Bligny*, and
“ declared him innocent ; but by their definitive
“ Sentence on the 20th of *May*, 1650, after hearing all Parties, they dismissed the Judge of
“ *Bourg-la-Reine*, and the Prosecutrix, from any
“ farther Attendance, without condemning them
“ to make a Reparation, or pay any Damages.”

ON the whole therefore it was inferr'd by *M. Tarterin*, Advocate for the Count *de Montgomery*, from Reason, and from Authority, from the Civil Law, and from the Laws of *France*, that his Client was not at all accountable in this Case; for what had happen'd to the *Sieur d'Anglade* and his Wife, since in Case the Court should be of another Opinion, instead of performing their first Error, they would commit a second of the same kind, and punish the Count *de Montgomery* as unjustly as they had the *Sieur d'Anglade* and his Wife; wherefore he concluded that the Court would leave Things as they were, and confirm to the Lady *d'Anglade*, and her Daughter, the Sentence, whereby the Reputation of the *Sieur d'Anglade* was restored, without condemning a Prosecutor to the Payment of Damages, which he had never occasioned, that is voluntarily, which is the Circumstance necessary to the constituting a legal, or an illegal Act.

THE Advocate of the Dame *d'Anglade* was heard, in Answer to the Allegations offered on the Part of the Count *de Montgomery*, it was suggested in the Behalf of this unfortunate Widow, that the present Controversy was yet more strange than the melancholy Event from whence it took Rise, two innocent People have been treated as Criminals, and the unjust Punishments which they have suffer'd, has excited Astonishment and Compassion throughout all *France*; these hapless People look with Horror on their Prosecutor, and fly to the Justice of the Nation for Succour and Redress.

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THE Count *de Montgomery* comes and acknowledges that he did pursue and prosecute two innocent People, that he laboured with indefatigable Industry to cover them with Shame and Punishment ; but he desires this august *Tribunal* would interpose and prevent his being constrained to make them any Reparation ; he says he imposed upon his Judges, and therefore he would have those Judges screen him, that they may be thought wiser than he ; but all this is nothing to the Purpose, it was the Count *de Montgomery* that assembled with so much Care, the Circumstances on which the Sentence against the *Sieur d'Anglade* and his Wife was founded. It was he who pressed these upon the Judges, as indisputable Proofs of Guilt, and by the Fierceness of his Conduct, overcame their Reason, if therefore it can be shewn that all these suspicious Circumstances were very trivial and inconclusive, it will follow that the Count, from some very bad Motive, laboured this Point with such Earnestness, and this alone will be sufficient to overturn the whole of his Defence ; for that an erroneous Prosecution may be innocent, is not denied, but if the Error lie in the Will, and not in the Understanding, the Prosecutor is certainly punishable by the Laws of G O D and Man.

THERE were in the Course of the Prosecution eleven suspicious Circumstances urged against these unhappy Innocents. 1. The *Sieur d'Anglade* and his Wife having promised to accompany the Count *de Montgomery* to his House at *Ville-Bouffin*, afterwards broke their Words. 2. The Lady *d'Anglade*, on Departure of the Count *de*

Montgomery, took the Keys of the Street-Door. 3. Seventy *Louis d'Ors* were found in the *Sieur d'Anglade's* Trunk. 4. This Parcel of Gold was wrapped up in the *Count's* Genealogy. 5. *Madam d'Anglade* complained of being ill, and the *Sieur d'Anglade's* Hand shook. 6. There were Contradictions in the Examinations of the Husband and Wife. 7. *Madam d'Anglade* pretended to suspect the *Valet de Chambre*, and actually pointed out the Place where six Bags were found of 1000 *Livres* each. 8. The Day of the Robbery the *Sieur d'Anglade* supped with him, whereas he was wont to sup abroad. 9. *M. Grimaudet*, who had lodged in the same Appartment before the *Count de Montgomery*, had the Misfortune to be robbed also. 10. The *Sieur d'Anglade* knew that the *Count de Montgomery* had Money. 11. He lodged in the House, and therefore might possibly be the Thief. Let us consider whether these Circumstances, in any reasonable Man's Opinion, ought to have fixed the Robbery on the *Count d'Anglade*.

As to the Journey of *Ville Bouffin*, the Husband and the Wife both agreed that on *Sunday* the 2d of *December*, the Day preceeding that in which the Journey was to have been undertaken, one of the *Count's* Sisters professed herself a *Nun* at the Abbey of *Panthemont*, the *Sieur d'Anglade* and his Wife desired to assist at this Ceremony, which they did; but afterwards the *Count* and *Countess* kept only the Lady to Dinner, and let her Husband go away, which put the *Sieur d'Anglade* so much out of Humour, that he ordered his Wife to break the Appointment they had made, which in Obedience

to her Husband she did ; this is certainly a fair Account of the first Circumstance ; the same Thing may be said with respect to the Keys, Madam *d'Anglade* desired they might be left with her, because her Husband came Home late at Night, and ought therefore to have them with him, since when the Count *de Montgomery* was out of his Lodgings, there was no Body below to let him in, this being so easy and natural an Answer to the Demand of the Keys, what need of having Recourse to distant and black Designs, unless it be from a Prepossession that these People were guilty, and that every little Circumstance ought to prove them so.

THEY found Seventy *Louis d'Ors* in a *Robeau*, in the Trunk of the *Sieur d'Anglade*, is a Man's having Money a Proof of his having committed a Robbery ? But the Species was scarce, this is only alledged, and the very owning that so many were found together, is a Proof that they were not very scarce ; the *Sieur d'Anglade*, the very Moment they were found, told where he had them, and the Persons whom he named, justify'd what he said to be true.

THE printed Genealogy, in which these *Louis d'Ors* were wrapped, was a Paper sent from a *Chandler's Shop* to Madam *d'Anglade*, she named the Woman, and she was sent for, the Prosecutor triumphed mightily, when on her Examination she said nothing of this Paper of her own accord ; however, she mentioned it when she recollected herself. But the Count of *Montgomery* falsely asserted that Genealogy belonged to his Family, and

this he insisted on with great Warmth, against the Persons whom he accused; is he not ashamed of having asserted then what he dares not speak of now?

BUT Madam *d'Anglade* grew suddenly ill, and the *Sieur d'Anglade's* Hand trembled when he counted the Gold, the Sight of a Judge, who took every Thing in a wrong Sense, and who affected to put on Airs of Sternness and Severity, might very well affright innocent People, who in an Instant found themselves suspected, accused, dishonoured, defamed, where a little before they were treated with the highest Respect and Esteem. The Pains they endured afterwards, are the strongest Justification of their Apprehensions then.

As to the Contradictions of the Husband and the Wife, with relation to the Seventy *Louis d'Ors*, have been often mentioned, but never spoke out; we will examine them. Madam *d'Anglade* said, she knew very well her Husband had put by some *Louis d'Ors* in a *Roleau*, that they had counted them together, and that the *Sieur d'Anglade* had said to her in counting them, *See, my Dear, is not this a fine Coin?*

THE *Sieur d'Anglade*, on his Examination, said, that he was not positive that his Wife knew of his keeping those *Louis d'Ors*, that he could not say he had ever shewn them to his Wife, that it was very possible he might have counted them in her Presence, but he was not certain. Can it be said that a Witness who speaks indefinitely, contradicts another, who speaks positively, a dubious Witness

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ness testifies as much to the Affirmative, as to the Negative, if therefore this Circumstance ought to have condemned the *Sieur d'Anglade*, a parallel Circumstance will at all Times condemn a Man of a treacherous Memory, and render guilty, at least in the Eye of the Law, every one who has not Presence of Mind.

THE Discovery which the *Lieutenant Criminal* made of the Six Bags of a Thousand *Livres* each, after he had advised the *Lady d'Anglade* not to enter the Apartments of the Count *de Montgomery*, appeared to him so strong and solid a Proof, that from that Time aforesaid, he would never hear of any Body's being guilty but they; nay, he was so full of it, and so certain, that nothing could possibly persuade him to examine the very People, who lay in the same Room where the Bags were found; matchless Care and Precaution this! and wonderful Signs these of Penetration and Impartiality! as well as of an extraordinary Zeal for Justice!

YET give me Leave to say, that nothing was ever more natural, or more prudent, than the Advice given by *Madam d'Anglade*. She justify'd to the Face of the Person concerned, that the *Countess's* Woman told her the *Valet de Chambre's* Room was on the Jar, from whence she might easily conclude, that the Person who committed the Robbery might be concealed in that Room, and that it might be done by the Consent of that *Valet*.

THOUGH this was not true, why might not *Gagnard* have concealed *Bellestre* there, for he lay

in that Room? How comes it to pass that so reasonable a Conjecture should immediately be turned into an Evidence of Guilt? Or why, at a Time when every Body was offering their Conjectures and Opinions, should Madam *d'Anglade's* speaking be more a Crime than that of others? What evident Mark of a malicious Poisoning every Thing she said, glares in the Use made of this innocent Circumstance? A Door is acknowledged to be found open, which a Person who lay in the Room says he left double locked; one thereupon says, that the Thief must have been in that Room, and may have left something behind him, on Examination something is found, therefore the Person who drew this Consequence was the Thief, what Reasoning is this?

THE *Sieur d'Anglade* supped with the Count the Night of the Robbery, tho' he was wont to sup abroad; yet it is owned that he had sup'd with him often, and been invited oftener; this surely is a Circumstance too strong to be got over.

AN old Robbery committed in the same Apartment is another Proof. The Person who committed this Robbery was convicted, the *Sieur d'Anglade* and his Wife were never suspected, and yet of a sudden this is made an Argument that they might commit this Robbery: Why? Because they neither did commit that, nor were ever suspected of having committed it? By the assembling these Circumstances it is plain the Count *de Montgomery* resolved they should be guilty, and then hunted out idle Tales, and trivial Actions, to make them appear so. All this proceeded from a strict Love
to

to Justice, the Thing is so evident, and his Conduct was so upright, that no Body can doubt it.

THE Parties accused knew very well that the *Count* had this Money by him, and they had even proposed to him advantageous Methods for putting it out. Were not other Persons acquainted with his having Money? If they were, why did he not suspect them? Or does he think the advising him to put it out of the House, carried the Appearance of Desire to steal it? It happens unluckily that these Circumstances, which to the *Count* and to the Judge appeared so strong, as not to admit of Doubt, looked to other People quite another way, and if they prove any Thing, prove that the *Sieur d'Anglade* and his Wife ought not to be suspected.

THE *Sieur d'Anglade's* Life, Parentage, Estate, and in short every Thing they could think of, was looked into, and the Consequence of all this was, that it plainly appeared, that he had a Fortune, which, by the help of great Oeconomy, enabled him to live as he did; as to the Pledges they talk of, why did they not say, that from their own Examinations, it appeared the Money was lent without Interest, and merely with a View of doing unhappy People a Kindness, after all their sifting, not the least Act of Dishonesty appeared; so that the sole Cause of their suspecting may justly be said to have been this, that the *Sieur d'Anglade* was One who had never been suspected before.

As to *Madam d'Anglade*, they never pretended to fix any Thing either upon her Conduct or Character; and as to living in the House, if that

ought to have affected this Gentleman and his Wife, why ought it not to have affected all the rest of the Lodgers? On the whole, the Count *de Montgomery* himself admits that each of these suspicious Circumstances, taken seperately, proves little; but when taken together, he would have us to believe they prove much; surely this is a sort of Rhetorick very new in a Court of Justice; and methinks it would have a much greater Appearance of Reason, should we say, that a Number of slight Circumstances drawn together, prove nothing; for where a Gentleman's Life and Fortune are at Stake, nothing that is slight ought to be received in Evidence at all, especially, if there be not one strong Circumstance against him, which was the Case of the *Sieur d'Anglade*.

BUT the Count *de Montgomery* would fain skreen himself behind the Judges, he was once so fortunate as to impose on a Court of Justice, and he would have you take this for a Reason, why he ought to impose on this Court again; he heretofore prevailed so far, as to have two innocent People most severely treated, and because this was done under Colour of Law, he desires the Law may not constrain him to make any Satisfaction. Very extraordinary this! but what Reason does he offer? Why, he sought Justice, and the *Lieutenant Criminal* ought to have done Justice? But he mistook, and the Judge mistook, the Innocent therefore are to suffer without Redress, because if you will credit him the Thing could not be helped; yet of his own shewing the very Reverse of all this appears.

IT was the *Lieutenant Criminal's* Duty to have examined every Body in the House, and particularly the *Count's* Domesticks. *Madam d'Anglade* put him in Mind of this, but for all that he would not do it. Why? The *Count de Montgomery* said he would answer for his Servants. Yet his Servants were guilty: And *Gagnard* acknowledged at his Death, that if he had been then examined, he had confess'd the Truth. The *Count de Montgomery* all this while sought nothing but Justice, he was actuated only by virtuous Motives, he had no Picque or Prejudice! No Prepossession against the *Sieur d'Anglade* and his Wife! All this may be true; but it is as true that he acted as if he had.

As to the Duty of the Judge, no doubt he ought to have performed it, and there is no Reason why the *Count* ought to have been more sharp-sighted than He; but the *Count* might have let him alone, and if he had not thought himself wiser, he needed not to have instructed him; he might have heard *Madam d'Anglade* patiently; he might have suffer'd his Servants to have been examined. Had he any Tenderneſs for their Characters? Why had he none for a Gentleman and Lady's that lodged in the House with him, and for whom at sometimes he professed a Friendship? Judges are but Men, therefore they may be deceived; the best way to prevent it, is to let them alone, to allow them to use their Reason freely, and not throw Circumstances in their way, which may either bias or embarrass them; but when this is done, and a Judge is deceived, shall He who was the Means of deceiving him plead that Deception in his

his own Favour ? What was Zeal in the Judge, may be Malice in him ? And this proves nothing, but that the Judge was too credulous, and the Accuser too hasty. From what Motives this Haste sprung, the Wisdom of this Court must determine ; we are now come to the Point of Law, which, as the *Count de Montgomery's* Advocate has stated it, is, that as the *Count* did not intend the Calumny, so he ought not to repair in Damages. We will next consider this.

THE Learned in the Laws distinguish Calumnies into two Classes, *apparent* and *presumed*, an apparent Calumny, say they, is where the Accusation comes out evidently to have been founded in Malice ; a presumed Calumny is when the Prosecutor proves nothing, after assuming to prove a great deal, a Person who accuses falsely, neither informs the Court, nor any Body else of his Design, he keeps that in his Heart as much out of Sight as may be, and it is only by Overt-Acts that the Publick can discern any thing thereof.

THE Law presumes always against the Accuser in Favour of the Accused, and the best Authors have agreed, that in doubtful Cases the Determination ought to be ever against the Prosecutor, because of this Presumption of Law. It would be easy to fortify what has been said, by Authorities from the best Civilians, even from those which have been cited by the *Count's* Advocates with so much Applause ; but that the *Ordonnance Criminelle* of the Year 1670, which is made the universal Law of this Realm, hath subjected every

every Accuser, failing in Point of Proof, to the Reparation of the Party accused in Damages.

THE good Intention, and undesigned Error of a Prosecutor, who proceeds without Malice, ought by no Means to prejudice an innocent Person accused, who ought undoubtedly to be repaired, in Respect of the Infamy, Mischief and Losses flowing from the false Accusation; there are two Customs inviolably preserved in *France*, which effectually prove the Truth of this Observation, and establish it as a Principle in Law.

THE first is, that in Civil Matters the Party Cast always pays the Cost, whatever Reasons, whatever Counsels Opinions might induce him to commence the Suit; it is not considered with what Intention, or to what End the Party began his Process, it is sufficient that the Opinion of the Court is against him, and on this only he is adjudged to pay the Cost. If this be right in Civil Cases, much more ought it to be so in Criminal Prosecutions; for in Civil Cases the utmost Mischief a Man can suffer, is the Loss of his Fortune, whereas a Criminal Prosecution, let it be right or wrong, affects his Person, Fame, and Fortune too.

THE other Custom I spoke of is, in the Case of accidental Slaughter, a Person firing at a wild Beast in a Wood, chances unluckily to kill a Man, the Prince grants him a Pardon of Course; but that Pardon does not exempt him from repairing the Family of the Deceased in Damages, the Widow and the Children may have Recourse at Law,
and

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and yet the Error of this Person is more innocent than that of a Prosecutor without Cause.

IT is agreed however, that there are certain Cases in which a Prosecutor ought not to pay Costs, or repair in Damages, we will state these, and see what Similitude there is between them, and that which is at present in Debate before this August Assembly.

IF the Crime concern the Person of the King, or relate to the State, if the Circumstances at the same Time are strong enough to create Suspicions in the wisest Breasts, the Justice of the Complaint, the Weight of the Publick Interest, and the Strength of Appearances, free the Prosecutor in a Matter of this kind, let the Defendant be ever so Innocent.

IF the Person accused be a Vagabond, if he be notoriously scandalous, if his Life be liable to Reproach through a Multitude of villainous Actions? Then, tho' he should be proved innocent of a particular Crime, yet the Flagrancy of his Character would preserve the Prosecutor.

IF an accused Person be discharged from the Weakness of Proofs, and not from the Evidence of his Innocence, an Accuser, who appears to have had good Grounds for what he did, is not liable to Damages; for Damages can only be given to the Innocent, and belong not at all to such, as only through want of Proof, are declared not guilty; the Uncertainty here renders the Acquittal too weak to support an Action, and a Person in
such

such a Case ought to be thankful for his Discharge, and not think of an Amends.

THE Count of *Montgomery* is within none of these Cases, and consequently if there be no Law to excuse him, the general Law before cited must condemn him; he is pleased to demand what Grounds they are on which *Madam d'Anglade* proceeds? Have I, says he, opposed the restoring the Character of her and her Husband? Am I not ready to repay the Money received from these Confiscations? Is this Lady so unreasonable as to expect to enrich herself by the Spoils of a Person who fought Justice, and intended no Hurt.

WHAT a mighty Favour was it in the Count *de Montgomery* in not opposing the Justification of *Madam d'Anglade*, and the Memory of her Husband, when all the World acknowledged their Innocence, and when not the Execution only, but the Confession of the real Criminals has put it out of Dispute. How could he do otherwise than restore them those Goods which they had forfeited upon an unjust Accusation? Nay, why should he refuse to restore the just Value of them, as they stood at the Time they were despoiled of them? Does he pretend to excite the Compassion of the Judges, by suggesting that he has been already spoiled? How much more have these unhappy Innocents been spoiled by his ill-grounded Accusation?

BUT by the way, my Lords, why does the Count present himself before you as a Person spoiled and distressed? Has he not got seven or eight thousand

thousand *Livres*, which were in the Hands of *Bellestre*, who robbed him? Has he not his Pearl Necklace worth 4000 *Livres*? Did he not find six Bags of a thousand *Livres* each, whereby his Loss is reduced to 12000 *Livres* at most? And what is such a Loss (the greatest Part of which he suffer'd by his commencing an unjust Prosecution) compared with that Abyss of Misery and Distress into which these unhappy Innocents have been plunged?

BUT, my Lords, whatever his Sentiments may be now, what were they when he carried on his Prosecution with so much Vigour? When he spared no Pains? When he suffered nothing to escape which might satiate his Vengeance? Was he satisfied, my Lords, with having the hapless *Sieur d'Anglade* put to the Torture, ordinary and extraordinary, and condemned to the Gallies? No! He would needs be the Spectator of his Misery, and went to glut his Eyes with the Sight of him, fighting under Chains, mingled with a Mob of Miscreants as their proper Companion! Where was the Innocence of the *Count's* Heart then? Went he thither to look for Justice? Why did he not urge this as a Proof that he had no Pique against the *Sieur d'Anglade*? But stopped he here my Lords? No, he went and feasted himself with the Misery of *Madam d'Anglade* and her Daughter, sinking under the Weight of Infamy and Want, in a nauseous Prison! Nay, his Resentment ended not with the Life of the *Sieur d'Anglade*! He endeavoured to misrepresent the first Discoveries of the real Thieves! And he now refuses to do Justice to a hapless Woman, and a Fatherless Child!

Child ! Become so through his Temerity and Vindictiveness, though Providence has so manifestly interested itself in their behalf, and by preserving in the Hands of the Thieves his Necklace of Pearl, produced a mute Testimony more cogent than all the living Witnesses in the World.

BUT, my Lords, the Count *de Montgomery* would prejudice you against my Clients, by crying out with Transports ! if in this Cause I suffer, who will seek hereafter for Justice ? If Mistakes are to pass for Crimes ? If after being spoiled and robb'd People are to be afraid of charging any ? What Thefts will be concealed ? How many guilty People will escape ? True, my Lords ! But if idle Piques and groundless Suspensions may condemn, who may be Innocent ? Your Lordships sit not so much here to punish Offenders, as to redress the Injured ! Was the Count *de Montgomery* robb'd ? Did that provoke him to seek Justice ? And would he have the Truth of the Facts excuse all his subsequent Proceedings ? What then shall be said for my Clients ? Have they felt nothing ? Have their Wrongs no Weight ? Or would the Count *de Montgomery* pretend a Privilege of complaining, and at the same Time stop the Mouths of those who have suffered ten Thousand Times as much ? Can he think it reasonable they should suffer by Mistake, and he not suffer for it ? Consider my Lords ! Consider what the Publick thinks of this Affair ? Let the good Wishes of the Wife ! The Prayers of the Religious ! The Tears of a whole Audience ! The Voice of a whole Nation move you to Pity ! But why should I intreat you ? Look on these Innocents ! Remember the

Sieur

Sieur d'Anglade, his Courage and his Tortures ! His Patience at his Death ! His Appeal to Heaven, and the loud Call of the Almighty, by the Discovery of *Bellestre* and *Gagnard*, to do his Memory and his Family Justice ! Here, my Lords, we leave it, nor can we doubt that so grave an Assembly will redress a Wrong, on which all *France* cries Shame.

THE Court having considered what had been offered by the Count *de Montgomery*, and what had been reply'd on the Part of *Madam d'Anglade* and her Daughter, made the following Edict, wherein the Reader will observe the plainest Language mixed with the most impartial Justice, for which Reason I thought proper to insert it at large.

THE Court having considered the Merits of this Cause, and having Regard to the Letters of Revision, obtained by *Frances S. Martin, Widow of Laurence Guillemot d'Anglade*, have discharged his Memory, and acquitted the said *Frances* of the Accusation brought against her, and declares their Imprisenments, as well as the seizing and exposing to Sale their Effects, injurious, wrongful and illegal. Ordaining that all the Commitments of their Persons to the Prisons of the Chatalet, Fort l'Eveque, and the Conciergerie du Palais, shall be razed and obliterated ; and the said *Frances* is hereby declared to stand fully repossess'd of all her Right, Title and Interest in and to the Goods and Effects by the said Edict commanded to be sold, and which are not yet sold or disposed of, without any further Warrant or Process of Law, and of this all Officers of Justice whatsoever
are

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are to take Notice. Condemning the said Count de Montgomery to pay and restore to the said Frances the Sum of eleven thousand, seven hundred, seventy-five Livres, ten Sols, for the Price of the Moveables and Effects sold under the said Edict, together with the Sum of seven hundred seventy Livres, being the Value of seventy Louis d'Ors, rouled up in a Roleau, mentioned in the Verbal Process of the Commissary Regnaut, of the 25th of September, 1687, and eight thousand, two hundred and fifty Livres for five Years, received from the Register of the Exchange at Bayonne, ending the 1st of April last, on Account of one thousand, six hundred and fifty Livres annual Interest of the said Sum of 11775 Livres, 10 Sols, and 770 Livres from the Day the said Count received them, and Interest for the said 8250 Livres Year by Year, Deduction being made by the said Frances of 2143 Livres, 12 Sols, 6 Derniers, paid by the said Count de Montgomery to the Servants of the said d'Anglade, and of 2000 Livres adjudged provisionally to the said Frances, by an Arret of the 25th of 1692, and the said Count de Montgomery and his Lady are condemned to pay to the said Frances 6000 Livres, contained in an Obligation formerly granted for that Sum to the said d'Anglade and his Wife, by the Duke and Dutcheffs of Grammont, with Interest for the same, from such Time as they received the said Sum to this Day, to the Payment of which Sums, Principal and Interest, the said Count de Montgomery may be constrained by Process against his Person. Nevertheless such Process shall not issue in two Years, this Court having thought fit to give that Time to the said Count and his Wife, to raise such Sums as by
this

this Arret they are condemned in, the one Moiety, with Interest thereon, at the Distance of one Year, and if that Moiety and Interest be not paid and satisfy'd at the End of the Year, then the said Frances shall be at Liberty to sue personal Process, and to take every other just and legal Method to compel the said Count de Montgomery and his Wife to the Payment of the said Moiety and Interest; but without Power however to prosecute for the other Moiety and Interest 'till the end of the second Year: Nevertheless the said Count de Montgomery and his Lady, are hereby directed to pay to the said Frances 3000 Livres within one Month after due Notice given of this Sentence, which 3000 Livres shall be taken and accounted for as Part of the first Years Payment, and on the Non-Payment of the said 3000 Livres, the said Frances shall be at Liberty to sue as aforesaid for the Recovery of them.

AND as to the other Demands and Requests of the respective Parties, they are dismissed this Court, the Count de Montgomery being however condemned to pay all the Expences and Costs of Suit, occasion'd by the Petition of the Lady d'Anglade, at the Chatalet, and on the Appeal to this Court, on the Letters of Revision.

Done in Parliament, the 17th of June, 1693.

THERE was collected for the said Lady at Court, for the Benefit of *Mademoiselle d'Anglade*, in Compassion to the Sufferings of her Father and Mother, upwards of one hundred thousand *Livres*. She married *Mons. des Effarts*, Counsellor in Parliament, but they died without Issue.

C A S E VI.

The celebrated History of Urbain Grandier, condemn'd as a Magician, and the Author of the Possessions of the Nuns of Loudun, full of wonderful Incidents.



IF it be true that *Urbain Grandier* was innocent of the Crime of *Magick*, as all the grave Part of the World, and all the Learned unanimously agree, what Opinion are we to have of the *Nuns of Loudun*, who were said to be *possessed*, and whose *Possession* was attributed to this Man? What must we think of the *Exorcists* who pretended to *dispossess* them, and of the *Judges* who condemned him?

IF we acquit *Grandier* it will follow that these *Possessions* were mere theatrical Representations, a kind of Comedy presented before the whole Kingdom, which however proved at last a Tragedy, by the terrible Death of the unfortunate *Grandier*. How these *Nuns* and their *Exorcists* were capable of contriving and executing with such Success, (and for a considerable Space of Time) so bold a Thing as this, whereby they deceived not the Mob and the Ignorant only, but the Inquisitive also, and Persons of the highest Distinction?

stinction? How the Judges came not to penetrate, or if they did, to wink at so horrid a Piece of Iniquity? How they were drawn to sacrifice an innocent Man, against whom no legal Proofs appeared, to the Malice of a haughty Minister? And how they should agree so unanimously therein as to have no Dissensions or Disputes among themselves, in the transacting this Affair, must rather remain Matter of Wonder than Subject of Enquiry, since the secret Springs of these mysterious Proceedings were laid too deep to be fathom'd by those who were Spectators of this odd Business, and have been too industriously concealed for Posterity to trace their Source.

WITHOUT troubling myself with intricate Researches, and uncertain Conjectures, I shall endeavour with the utmost Accuracy and strictest Impartiality to give my Readers such a Detail of the Matters of Fact, relating to this extraordinary Affair, as will (I hope) enable them to judge for themselves, and to discover that Truth, for which, if the Judges fought at all, they fought in vain.

LOUDUN is a little Town of *Poitou*, in which there was settled a House of *Ursulines*. As the principal End of that Order is the Instruction of Youth, they took into their House Boarders. In 1632, they had for the Director of their Consciences a very able and honest Man, Mr. *Moussat*. After his Death, if they fell into great Errors in respect to spiritual Things, they were at the same Time no less distressed in Point of temporal Concerns; some of the younger *Nuns*, in concert with

with their Boarders, had entered into a Scheme to fright the rest, and to divert themselves, by making these Innocents believe the House was haunted.

MARY AUBIN, being a Boarder, then between 16 and 17 Years old, was one of the principal Actors in this Affair, as she herself confessed, not once or twice, or slightly, or without Circumstances, but very frequently, very distinctly, and without any Variation in her Tale, 'till she reached her Sixty-fifth Year, about which Time she died. By acting these Gambols, *Mary Aubin* and her Companions fitted themselves for the Performance of more important Mischiefs.

JOHN MIGNON, Canon of the Collegiate Church of the *Holy-Cross* at *Loudun*, was chosen to succeed *Moussat*, as the spiritual Guide of these *Ursulines*. He was a subtil Man, one who affected an extraordinary Piety, but inasmuch as he did not discourage the Practices just now spoken of, he was suspected, not without Grounds of countenancing and directing them, with a View of ruining, by their Means, the unhappy *Grandier*, who was his capital Enemy.

As to what it is necessary for the Reader to know of this *Grandier*, in order to comprehend the Charge brought against him, it may suffice to say, that he was the Son of an honest worthy Person, the *Notary-Royal* at *Sables*, born at *Roueres*, which is but a little way from that small Town. It was pretended that he had been instructed in *Magick* by his Father, and *Claude*

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Grandier his Uncle, a Priest. But as the Inhabitants of *Sautes*, where they both lived, unanimously testified that they were Persons of good Characters, and inoffensive Lives; this must be look'd on as a Calumny.

URBAN GRANDIER studied under the *Jesuits* at *Bourdeaux*, and they had a great Kindness for him, on Account of his fine Parts. It is well enough known that these Fathers have an extraordinary Tenderness for such of their Pupils, as give early Tokens of their Love to Learning, and that they are fond of transplanting such Promising Shoots into their Society. But as to *Grandier* they were, it seems, of Opinion, that he would be more useful to them in the World, for which Reason they presented him to the Church of *St. Peter du Marche* in *Loudun*, of which they were Patrons. He had also a Prebend of the Church of the *Holy-Cross*. These two Benefices filled many of the Ecclesiasticks in the Neighbourhood with Envy, of which *Grandier* himself was so sensible, that in the midst of his Misfortunes he was wont to say, *That amongst those who sought his Ruin, as some hated his Person, so others had theirs Eyes on his Preferments.*

HE was (as to his Person) of an exact Height. He had an agreeable genteel Air, managed every Thing with much Address, and was extreamly neat and exact in whatever he wore, and in his Manner of wearing it. He always appeared in a long Habit, and it is not easy to describe his Manner of conversing, which was at once instructive and entertaining. He joined in his Discourse an Easiness

ness of speaking with an Elegance of Terms. He delighted in preaching, and he really preached well. The *Monks* hated him, because he declared himself in his Pulpit against Confraternities, and blamed such as neglected going to *Mafs* to their Parish Church. The *Monks* were exceedingly displeased on another Account, viz. his Faculty of Preaching, in which undoubtedly he much excelled them. Thus if his Parts gained him Friends and a Support, they also drew on him Envy, which, assisted by his own Imprudence, drew on Ruin.

HE composed a Funeral Oration for *Scevola* of *St. Martha*. This Work is much esteemed for the Strokes of Eloquence, with which it abounds, and which demonstrate its Author to have been a Man of Wit and Genius. Among his Friends he was a pleasant easy Companion, but towards his Enemies he carried himself with much Haughtiness and Disdain. He was steady in his Designs, jealous of his Character, and one who was intractable in Points where his Interest was concern'd. He repell'd Injuries with such Violence, as to make his Enemies irreconcilable, of whom it was his great Misfortune to have a large Number to deal with.

IF *Grandier* was innocent as to *Magick*, he was far from being so with respect to Gallantry. On the contrary he gave himself a Loose that way. Hence it came to pass, that among his Enemies, Rivals, Passionate Fathers, and outrageous Husbands, distinguish'd themselves, he having provok'd the Indignation of these furious sort of Peo-

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ple, by his amorous Disposition, the frequency and success of his Loves. *M. Seguin*, a Physician of *Tours*, says in his Letter inserted in the *Mercury*, that even the Partizans of *Grandier* owned his being addicted to Amours. *Menage*, who undertook his Defence, when it was objected that he had conversed criminally with a Woman in the Church, does not deny it. *Monconis* says, that this Woman was the Wife of one of the Magistrates of *Loudun*. However much of this might be spite, tho' somewhat might be true. An excellent Caution to the Clergy of all Churches to be careful in every Point of their Conduct!

IN spite of the Coquetry of his Heart, he had a reigning Mistress, with whom it was shrewdly suspected he had contracted what is called a Marriage of Conscience, and that to obviate her Scruples, he composed, *A Treatise against the Celibacy of Priests*, which was found among his Papers; and these Conjectures turned upon *Magdelain de Brou*, who was known to be his intimate Friend. But he was so cautious, that he never mentioned her Name, and to say the Truth, he was no less prudent in respect to all the other Girls and Women with whom he conversed intimately, so that their Reputations could not suffer from any Indiscretions of his.

THE Idea we must have of a Priest so gallant, will naturally give us to understand, that he was at the same Time not over pious; however, it does not follow, that tho' his Heart was very corrupt, all Principles of Religion were utterly extinguished there. His Passion for Women, tho' it governed

governed him in such a Manner as to lead him into mighty Offences, yet it left him some Notions of his Duty to God, such as they were, this we have Reason to believe from the Condition in which we find other Christians addicted to the same Vice, who nevertheless are far enough from entertaining impious Opinions, so that his Debauchery admitting what his Enemies said to be true, could be no proof of his being a *Magician*.

IN 1620, he gain'd a Process in the *Officiality* of *Poitiers* against a Priest, whose Name was *Mouiere*, whom he used with such Rigour on that Occasion, that the Man hated him vehemently ever afterwards.

HE had the same Success in a Suit between him and the Canons of the Church of the *Holy-Cross*, about a House they disputed with him, and on this Occasion he used one *Mignon*, a Canon, who solicited for his Brethren, with such inveterate Insolence, that he conceived for him so bitter an Aversion, as to resolve to let no Occasion slip of doing him a Mischief.

GRANDIER likewise incurr'd the Displeasure of the whole Family of *M. de Barot*, President of the Commissioners of Taxes, and Uncle to *Mignon*; this Gentleman, in a Difference he had with him, *Grandier* had treated with great Contempt, and as One far below him. The President being very rich, and Childless, all his Relations had great Expectancies, and for this Reason made their Court to him, by shewing on all Occasions their Spleen to *Grandier*.

BUT of a his Enemies there was none so fierce, or so formidable, as *M. de Trinquant*, the King's Attorney : This Gentleman had a mighty handsome Daughter, for whom *Grandier* had testify'd a high Respect, and with whom it was generally suspected he had pushed his amorous Commerce to the greatest Height. The young Lady grew discolour'd, and fell into a languishing sort of Illness, upon which it was rumour'd that she was with Child.

THE Publick, ever solicitous to discover Intrigues of such a Nature as this, watched her Motions very closely : But *Martha Pelletier*, a young Woman of small Fortune, with whom *Mademoiselle Trinquant* had contracted a strict Friendship, gave on this Occasion an extraordinary Proof of Fidelity and Affection, she took the Child, and declared it to be her own, putting it as such to Nurse. The Town however ceased not to talk, or to ascribe the Infant to her whom they took for its true-Mother, which gave all the Family the utmost Uneasiness.

THE King's Attorney caused *Martha Pelletier* to be apprehended, and to be interrogared strictly as to the Birth of this Child ; she insisted positively on the Truth of what she had at first given out, that it was hers, and promised to take such Care of it, that they were constrained to discharge her. The foolish Indiscretion of this Father would have been but justly recompensed, if the Woman had told him and all the World the Truth ; as it was, it served only to mortify him the more, the
Suspicion

Suspicion still continuing, and all the Trouble he had given himself made the Matter but the more talked of, his Heart therefore burnt with Rage and Resentment against him whom he took to be the Author of his, and his Daughter's Disgrace.

THE Enemies of *Grandier* assembled in Council, in order to consider of some Method for destroying him, there joined them on this Occasion, by the Assistance of *Mignon*, Monsr. *Menuar*, the King's Advocate, who had the Misfortune to be in Love with a Lady, in whom *Grandier* was his Rival, and what was worse a Favourite Rival too. At such a Meeting one need not be surprized that it was determined utterly to ruin *Grandier*, or at least to drive him out of the Neighbourhood of *Loudun*.

A little after they exhibited, in the Court of the *Official* of *Poitiers*, an Information against him, in the Name of the *Promoter*, in which they accused him of having seduced Girls and Women, and taxed him at the same Time with Impiety and Irreligion. Two miserable Rascals, picked out from the Dregs of the People, were raised up by his Enemies to become Dilators. The *Official* commissioned the *Lieutenant Civil*, and the *Arch-Priest* of *St. Marcellus* in the *Loudonois*, to enquire into this Cause. An *Official* has no Right to Commission a *Royal Judge*, so that on this Occasion he was guilty of an Irregularity.

ABOUT this Time one *Duthibaut*, a Man considerable for his Wealth, and who was united with the Enemies of *Grandier*, committed the

highest Insult on him, in the Presence of the Marquis *du Belay*. It seems he had spoke very disrespectfully of the Priest, and had Characterized him with all that Foulness of Language, which should be heard from none but the Vulgar.

GRANDIER reproved him for it, in Terms so quick and piercing, that *Duthibaut* could not help striking him with his Cane, tho' he was in his Surplice, and just ready to enter the Church of the *Holy-Cross*, where he was going to assist at Divine Service. *Grandier* went and threw himself at the Feet of the King, and complained heavily of the publick Affront that had been offered him and his Character. The King, moved with the Matter of his Complaint, referr'd the Consideration thereof to the Parliament, with Directions that *Duthibaut* should be immediately called to an Account and prosecuted.

DURING this Time that *Grandier* was at *Paris*, an Information was brought against him by his Enemies at *Loudun*, the King's Attorney deposed first, in order to encourage the rest, and took every Measure possible to support the Mean People who were Witnesses with him. When the Information was made out, they sent it to the Bishop of *Poitiers*, whom some People had prejudiced against *Grandier*. They exaggerated an Indiscretion this Curate had committed, in trespassing on the Bishops Rights, in giving (as they said) a Dispensation for proclaiming the *Banns of Marriage* in a certain Case. On these Allegations they obtained (without much Difficulty) a Warrant from the Bishop to secure his Person.

MONSIEUR

MONSIEUR *Duthibaut*, in order to avoid being punished for what he had done, attacked with the utmost Violence the Character of his Accuser, he charged him with being a scandalous Person, leading a profligate Life, and disgracing the Priesthood, in Support of all which he produced the Warrant for his Apprehension, which had been granted by the Bishop of *Poitiers*, and this was the Cause that the Court, before Justice was done, sent *Grandier* back to the Bishop, to clear himself of the Crimes laid to his Charge.

HE returned to *Loudun*, and in a few Days came to *Poitiers*, to put himself into a Condition for his Defence, but could not do it; for he was no sooner arrived, but he was arrested Prisoner by an Usher of the Court, named *Charri*. Although it was the 15th of *November*, and that the Bishop's Prison was cold and dark, he remain'd however there more than two Months, and began to believe that he would never get out of this Affair. His Enemies at least seem'd very much induced to think so; *Duthibaut* thought himself secured from his Prosecution, the Issue whereof could not but be very troublesome to him; and *Barot* caus'd a Devolution to be executed upon his Benefice, to the Profit of *Ismael Bouliean*, a Priest, and one of his Heirs.

THE Fierceness of the Prosecution began now to abate, not from a Decay of Malice, but from the Consideration of the Expence, of which some of the Parties grew weary; however, *Tringuant* re-animated them, and taught them with much ado, to value their Money less than their Revenge.

IN spite of all their Intrigues, they were unable to support their Information by legal Proofs. It was laid to *Grandier's* Charge that he had debauched Women and Maidens ; but there were no Plaintiffs produced ; these Women and Maids were not named ; there was not any Witness that swore directly to this Fact ; and the greater Part acknowledged at last, that they never heard a Word concerning many Things which they found writ in the Informations.

AT last, it being necessary to proceed to the Judgment of the Process ; there was admitted into the Number of the Judges, the Advocate *Richard*, who was *Trinquant's* Kinsman ; and the Bishop was beset by the secret Adversaries of *Grandier*, who ceased not to set him out in the blackest Colours, and who knew how to mix so much Probability with their Calumnies, that on the 3d of *Jan.* 1630, he was condemned to fast with Bread and Water, by way of Penance, every *Friday*, during three Months ; and interdicted from divine Offices, in the Diocese of *Poitiers*, for five Years, and in the Town of *Loudun* for ever.

HIS Enemies flattered themselves that they had now effectually overcome him, nor were they at all apprehensive of what might happen before another Tribunal on both Sides, therefore there was an Appeal from this Sentence, *Grandier* appeal'd to the Bishop of *Bordeaux* ; and his Adversaries, in the Name of the *Promoter* of the *Officialty*, by Writ of Error, to the Parliament of *Paris*, to the Intent only to perplex him, and to bring him into

into such a Condition, as not to be able to undergo the Burden of all the Affairs, with which they fought to overwhelm him, but they succeeded not as they desired ; for he prepared himself, and had his Cause pleaded before the Parliament.

BUT it being necessary to hear yet a greater Number of Witnesses, who dwelt in a Place very far off, the Court remitted the Cognizance thereof to the *Presidial* of *Poitiers*, to judge definitively. The *Lieutenant Criminal* of *Poitiers* gave Instruction for renewing the Process, as well by the Re-examination and confronting of the Witnesses, as by the Fulmination of a Manitory. This Instruction was not favourable to his Accusers, there were found Contradictions in the Witnesses, who would yet persist ; and there were many others who ingenuously acknowledg'd that they had been tamper'd with ; one of the Accusers desisted from the Action which he had begun, and declared with some Witnesses, who also gave over, that they had been put on and solicited by *Trinquant*. At the same Time it came to the Knowledge of *Mealieu* and *Boulieau*, Priests, that they were made to say in their Deposition, Things that they had never thought of ; they were desirous of disowning them, by Writings under their Hands.

THUS, in spite of all their Assiduity and Pains, this hopeful Structure fell to the Ground, the *Presidial* of *Poitiers* gave his Judgment the 25th of *May*, 1631, whereby *Grandier* was sent away absolved, for the present, of the Accusation made against him. He triumphed and insulted over his Adversaries with so much Haughtiness, as

if he had been wholly clear of this Business; in the mean Time it was necessary that he should present himself before the Tribunal of the Archbishop of *Bourdeaux*, to whom he had appealed, and that he might there obtain a Sentence of Justification.

THIS Prelate, a little after that this Judgment had been given at *Poitiers*, came to visit his Abbey of *St. Jouin les Mames*, which is but three Leagues from *Loudun*. *Grandier* prepared himself to appear before him; and his Adversaries, who seem'd to have lost all Courage, did defend themselves with Vigour. The Archbishop however acquitted him, fully restored him to the Possession of his Benefices, and left him at Liberty to pursue such legal Measures as he should think fit for recovering Damages, and Restitution of the Profits during his Suspension.

THE Archbishop considering the Animosity of *Grandier's* Enemies, and the Iniquity of their Contrivances, having also a Regard for him on Account of his great Parts, advis'd him to change his Benefices, and to withdraw himself from a Place where so powerful a Conspiracy was made against him. But he was not capable of following such wholesome Advice, both Love and Hatred had too much blinded him, he hated his Enemies with too great a Passion to satisfy them in this Point; but he was yet more violently possess'd by Love; and although this was divided towards different Objects, there was one nevertheless which was the true Object of his tender Affections, to which his Heart was ty'd by such strong Bands, that far
from

from being able to break them, he had not the Power to remove himself any Distance from her.

H E returned then to *Loudun*, with a Branch of Laurel in his Hand, as an Ensign of his Victory. Persons that were indifferently concern'd, were scandaliz'd at his Conduct, wherein he shew'd so little Modesty, his Enemies were enrag'd, and his own Friends disapprov'd it. He took Possession of his Benefices, and scarcely gave himself leisure to breath, so that being wholly fill'd with the Resentment of the Injury that had been done him by *Duthibaut*, he begun his Suit against him, and drove it so far, that he obtained a Decree from the Chamber of *Tournelle*, whither *Duthibaut* was sent for, and reproved, and was condemn'd to divers Fines and Reparations, and to pay the Charges of the Process.

N O T satisfy'd with the Right hitherto done him in this Affair, he resolv'd to carry on his Revenge as far as the Law would permit, and in order thereto began to sue his Enemies for Reparations, Damages and Restitution of the Profits of his Benefices. It was in vain that his principal Friends would have dissuaded him upon the Consideration of what had already happened to him, which ought to make him know what his Enemies were like to do if he attempted every way to drive them to Extremities, and to distress their Purse, at which they would not be less sensible than they had shew'd themselves in what concern'd their Reputation.

BUT

BUT his Stars drew him to a Precipice ; Divine Providence, whose ways are impenetrable, would punish him for his Pride and Debauchery, and suffer at the same Time to appear upon the Theatre of the World, one of the tragical Acts, which false Zeal or Impiety cause to be represented there from Time to Time ; and which never fail to find in the Credulity of the People an Approbation and Applause, which the Experience of what is passed ought to hinder them from giving so lightly, and which are the evident Signs of the Weakness of Man's Understanding.

IT is now Time to give the Reader an Account of the Methods, which the Enemies of this unhappy Priest took to rid themselves of him, who was the Object of their Malice. *Mignon* was the principal Person concern'd, he set in order the Springs of his Intrigues, that he might have them in a Condition to play when he should find it convenient ; to this End he caused his Scholars to be exercised in feigning to fall into Convulsions, to make Contorsions and Postures of their Bodies, to the End they might gain a Habit, and he forgot nothing for their Instruction to make them appear true *Demoniacks*.

'T WAS believed that he kept some of the simple and over-credulous *Nuns* in their Error, in the Fear which they had at first, and that by Degrees he insinuated into them, that which he was desirous they should at last strongly believe, and which it was thought they really did : How little Resemblance soever of Truth there might be
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in this Imposture, he drew others into the Party, who had no Knowledge of it in the Beginning; he secured himself of the Fidelity of all those who were engaged, as well by Oaths, as by the Consideration of the Interest of the Glory of *GOD*, and the *Catholick Church*, persuading them that it would draw great Advantages by this Enterprize, which would serve to confound the *Hereticks*, of whom the Town was very full, and be rid of a pernicious Curate, who by his Debaucheries had dishonour'd his Character, who was also a secret *Heretick*, and who drew a numerous Company of Souls into *Hell*; adding, that their *Convent* would not fail to obtain, by this Means, an extraordinary Reputation, and that Gifts and Alms that would be bestowed would bring a great Plenty, which was then wanting; in a Word, he forgot nothing that he believed would contribute to his Designs, and when he saw that the Business was very near to the Point of Perfection, which he wished, he began to exercise the Superior, and two other *Nuns*.

THE Report of the *Nuns* being *possessed* beginning to be whispered about the Town, *Mignon* thought it high Time to draw some Assistants into his Plot, at first he call'd to his Exorcisms *Peter Barre*, Curate of St. *James* of *Climon*, and *Canon* of St. *Meme*. He was a Bigot and a Hypocrite, almost of the same Character with *Mignon*, but much more melancholick, and more Enthusiastick, and who practised a thousand Extravagancies, that he might pass for a Saint. He came to *Loudun*, at the Head of his Parishioners, whom he led in Procession, coming all the way on Foot, that

that he might the better put a Gloss upon his Hypocrisy.

AFTER that these two pretended *Exorcists* had busied themselves together very privately for ten or twelve Days, they believed this *Act* was in a Condition to be exposed upon the *Stage*, to the Eyes of the *Publick*, and for this Effect they resolved to inform the *Magistrates* of the lamentable Condition of these *Nuns*, to whom they employed *Granger*, Curate of *Veiner*, a Man malicious and impudent, fear'd and hated of all the Priests in the Country, because being in Favour with the Bishop of *Poitiers*, he many Times did them ill Offices with him: He had never any Difference with *Grandier*, but had even receiv'd some Services from him, which did not hinder him from suffering himself to be tamper'd with by *Mignon* and *Trinquant*, and entering openly into the League with them.

HE went then on *Monday* the 11th of *October*, 1632, to find *William de Carizni de la Gueramere*, Bailiff of the *Loudunois*, and *Lewis Chanvet*, Lieutenant-Civil, and he intreated them, on the Behalf of the *Exorcists*, to come to the *Convent* of the *Ursulines*, to see the two *Nuns* possessed by Evil Spirits, representing to them that it concerned them to be present at the *Exorcisms*, and to see the strange and almost incredible Effects of this *Possession*. He told them that there was One who answered in *Latin* to all Questions that could be put to her, although she had no Knowledge of the Languages before this Accident. The two *Magistrates* went to the *Convent*, either to assist at the *Exorcisms*, and to authorize them if they found themselves

themselves obliged, or to stop the Course of this Illusion, if they judged the *Possession* to be feigned and counterfeited.

MIGNON met them with his Surplice and Tippet, he told them that the *Nuns* had been disturbed for fifteen Days with Apparitions and frightful Visions, and that after that the *Mother Superior*, and two other *Nuns*, had been visibly *possess'd* for eight or ten Days by Evil Spirits, but that they had been driven out of their Bodies, as well by the Ministry of him, as of *Barre*, and some other Religious *Carmelites*; but that on Saturday Night the 16th of the Month, the *Mother Superior*, named *Jane Belsiel*, the Daughter of the late *Baron of Cose*, of the Country of *Zaintonge*, and a Lay-Sister, the Daughter of *Maignoux*, had been tormented afresh, and that they were *possess'd* again by the same *Spirits*; that they had discover'd in their *exercising*, that this was done by a new Pact or Covenant, the Symbol or Mark whereof were *Roses*, as the Token of the first had been three *Black Thorns*. That the Evil Spirits had not been willing to name themselves during the first *Possession*, but that he who then *possessed* the Mother Friores, called himself the *Enemy of GOD*, and said his Name was *Astaroth*; and that he who *possess'd* the Lay-Sister, named himself *Sabulun*.

At last he told them, that the *Possess'd* were now taking their Rest, and he desired them to defer their Visit to another Hour of the Day. These two Magistrates were ready to go out, when a *Nun* came to give them Notice, that the Persons *possessed* were again tormented. They went up
with

with *Mignon* and *Granger*, into an upper Chamber, furnished with seven little Beds, in one of which lay the Lay-Sister, and the Prioress in another. This last was encompassed with some *Carmelites*, with some of the *Nuns* of the *Convent*, with *Matharin Rousseau*, Priest and Canon of *St. Cross*, and *Manouin* the Surgeon. The Superior had no sooner discovered the two Magistrates, but she had violent Commotions, and performed strange Actions; she made a Noise which was like to that of a Pig; she sunk down into the Bed, and contracted herself into the Postures and Grimaces of a Person who is out of his Wits; a *Carmelite Friar* was at her Right Hand, and *Mignon* at her Left, the last of these put his two Fingers into her Mouth, and presupposing that she was possessed, used many Conjurations, and spake to the Devil, who answered him after this Manner in their first Dialogue.

MIGNON demanded, *Propter quam Causam ingressus es in Corpus hujus Virginis? For what Reason hast thou entered into the Body of this Virgin?* Answ. *Causa Animositatis; Upon the Account of Animosity.* Q. *Per quod Pactum? By what Pact?* Answ. *Per Flores, By Flowers.* Q. *Quales? What Flowers?* A. *Rosæ, Roses.* Q. *Quis misit? Who sent them?* A. *Urbanus, Urban.* She pronounced not this Word before she had stammer'd many Things, as if she had done it by a Constraint. Q. *Dic Cognomen, Tell his Sirname.* A. *Grandier.* This was again a Word which she pronounced not 'till she had been very much urged to answer. Q. *Dic Qualitatem, Mention his Quality.* A. *Sacerdos, A Priest.* Q. *Cujus Ecclesiæ? Of what Church?*

Church ? A. *Sancti Petri, Of Saint Peters.* She utter'd these last Words very boldly. Q. *Quæ Persona attulet Flores ? What Person brought the Flowers ?* A. *Diabolica, A Diabolical Person.* She came to her Senses after this last Answer, she pray'd to GOD, and she tried to eat a little Bread, which was brought her, she put it from her however a little after, saying she was not able to swallow it, because it was too dry. There was brought to her liquid Sweetmeats, of which she eat but very little, because she was frequently perplexed by the Return of her Convulsions.

THE Bailiff and Lieutenant, who stood near her, and observed with good Attention that which pass'd, seeing that they gave no more any Sign of a *Possession*, withdrew towards the Window ; *Mignon* came near them and said, that in the Action which was presented, there was something like the History of *Peter Ganfredi*, who was put to Death by Virtue of a Decree of the Parliament of *Aix in Provence* ; to whom there was no Answer made, but the *Lieutenant Civil* told him, that it would have been proper to urge the *Prioresse* upon this Cause of Animosity, whereof she had spoke in her Answers ; upon this he excused himself, that he was not allowed to make any Questions of Curiosity.

THE *Lay-Sister* had also several Convulsions, and the Motions of her Body seem'd very extraordinary. They were desirous to propose some Questions to her, but she cry'd out twice, *To the Other, To the Other* ; which was interpreted as if she had been willing to say, that 'twas only the
Superior

Superior who was sufficiently instructed to answer. The Judges retired, and understood the same Questions had been already put divers Times to the *Nuns*, especially in the Presence of *Paul Gronard*, Judge of the Provost-ship of *Loudun*, and of *Trinquant*, the King's Attorney, of which, and all other Things they had seen and heard, they drew up a Verbal Process and sign'd it.

THE Noise which this *Possession* began to make, produced different Opinions; the devout Souls, who regarded with Respect and Veneration the Ministers of the Church, and who were inclined to receive blind-fold, and without Inquiry, all that was presented to them on their Part, could not persuade themselves that *Barre*, *Mignon*, the *Carmelites*, *Ursulines*, *Priests*, *Friars* and *Nuns*, could possibly be the Authors of so wicked a Contrivance, or invent so devilish an Imposture.

P BUT the *Worldlings*, not judging so charitably, were more inclined to suspect the whole; they could not apprehend how these *Devils*, who happen'd to go out at one Door, did as quickly re-enter at another, to the Confusion of the *Ministers* of him, by whose Authority they had been *dispossess'd*. They were astonish'd that the *Devils* of the *Superior* spake *Latin*, rather than that of the *Lay-Sister*; and that she spake not better than a *Scholar* of the second Form.

THEY made Reflections upon this, that *Mignon* had not been willing to interrogate her upon the Cause of the Animosity, of which he himself had spoken, and they concluded that it was because

cause the *Devil* was at the End of his Lesson ; that he had not as yet learnt any further, and that he was oblig'd to play the same Part before all Sorts of Spectators, seeing he had spoke nothing before the *Bailiff*, but what he had already spoke before the Judge of the Provost-ship. They were not ignorant that sometime before there had been a Meeting of all the most violent Enemies of *Grandier*, at the Village of *Pindardane*, in one of *Trinquant's* Houses, and they found a great deal of Probability, that what was acted there had a Relation to the *Possessions*.

THEY could not also relish that *Mignon* had so readily explained himself upon the Conformity, which he saw in his Affair, with that of *Ganfredy*, the Priest, executed at *Aix*. And in fine, they had rather that other *Friars* than *Carmelites* had been call'd to their *Exorcisms*, because the Quarrels of these good Fathers with *Grandier*, had been known to all the World, by the Sermons which he had made against a privileged Altar, of which they so much boasted, and by the Contempt which he publickly shewed of their Preachers.

THE next Day after, being the 12th of *October*, the *Bailiff*, and the *Lieutenant Civil*, accompanied with the Canon of *Roussan*, and followed by their Register, returned to the *Convent* of the *Ursulines*, upon the Knowledge that they had, that they did continue the *Exorcisms*. They called *Mignon* aside, and remonstrated to him that this Affair would be hence forward of such Importance, that it was necessary that they, the Magistrates, should be acquainted when they would
pro-

proceed in it ; they added, that it was convenient that they should forbear to *Exorcise*, and that other *Exorcists* should be called, to avoid the Suspensions of Suggestion, which his Quality of being *Confessor* might justly give, by Reason of the mortal Hatred which had been between him, or some of his Kindred, and *Grandier*, who had been named by the *Superior*, as the Author of the *Paët* and *Magick* which was now in Question.

MIGNON answered them, that neither he, nor the *Nuns* would be against their being present at the *Exorcisings*, and declared to them that *Barre* had *exorcised* that Day, but he did not promise not to *exorcise* any more for the future, altho' since that Time he had always abstained from *exorcising* in Publick. *Barre* drawing near, told the Magistrates, that in this *Exorcising* there past very surprizing Things ; that he had learnt from the *Superior*, that there were in her Body *seven Devils*, whose Names he had taken in Writing ; that *Asturoth* was the first in Order ; that *Grandier* had given the *Paëts* between him and the *Devils*, under the Symbol of *Roses*, to one named *Jane Pivart*, who had put them into the Hands of a Maiden, who had brought them to the Convent over the Walls of the Garden ; that the *Priorefs* had said that this happen'd to her on *Saturday Night*, *Hora secunda Nocturna*, at two of the Clock in the Morning, which were the very Words she used. That she would not name the Maiden, but had named *Pivart* ; that he demanded of her who that *Pivart* was ? And that she answered him, *Est pauper Magus*, 'Tis a poor Magician ; that he had urged her upon this Word, *Magus, Magician* ;
and

and that she replied, *Magicianus & Civis, Magician and Citizen.*

AFTER this Discourse, the Magistrates went up into the Chamber of the *possessed*, which they found fill'd with a great Number of inquisitive Persons; she made not any wry Face, nor did any Action of a Person *possess'd*, neither during the *Mass* which *Mignon* celebrated, nor before nor after the Elevation of the *Sacrament*; they sung also with the other *Nuns*; the *Lay-Sister* only being sat down by the help of those who were nearest to her, had a great Trembling in her Arms and Hands. This is all that was observed, and thought worthy to be inserted into the verbal Process of the Morning Work of that Day.

THE Design of the Judges, being to take an exact Account of this Affair, returned to the *Convent* about three or four o'Clock in the Afternoon, with *Ireneus* of St. *Marte*, the *Sieur Desbumeaux*; they found the Chamber again fill'd with People of all Conditions, the *Superior* had at first great Convulsions in their Presence; she thrust out her Tongue, she foam'd and froth'd at the Mouth well nigh as if she had been really in a Fit of Madness, or was tormented by an Evil Spirit.

BARRE demanded of the *Devil* when he would go out? Those that were near heard this Answer, *Cras Mane, To-Morrow Morning*. The *Exorcist* insisted and asked him why he would not go out of her then? The Answer was *Pactum a Contract, or it is a Contract*. The Word *Sacerdos, Priest*, was afterwards pronounced, then that
of

of *Finis*, or *Finit*, an *End*, or *does End*; for this good *Nun* or the *Devil* spoke between their Teeth, and it was not easy to understand her; Prayers were made, and Exorcisms and Adjurations, but she answered nothing. The *Pix* was put upon her Head, and this Action was accompanied with Prayers and Litanies, which had no Effect; only some People observed she was tormented with more Violence, when the Names of certain Saints were pronounced, as *St. Augustine*, *St. Jerome*, *St. Anthony*, and *St. Mary Magdalen*.

BARRE commanded her at that Time (as he did very often since) to say that she gave her Heart and Soul to *G O D*; she did it freely and without constraint, but when he bid her say, that she gave her Body, she made Resistance, and seemed not to obey, but by force, as if she were willing to say, the *Devil* possess'd her Body, but not her Soul. After she had made this last Answer, she recovered her natural Condition, her Countenance was also pleasant and calm, as if she had not undergone any extraordinary Agitation; and looking upon *Barre*, with a smiling Countenance, she told him, *That there was now no more of Satan in her.*

SHE was ask'd whether she remember'd the Questions which had been put to her, and her Answer was? She reply'd, No. Afterwards she took some Food, and told the Company, that the first *Paſt* had been given her about ten o'Clock at Night; that she was then in Bed, and that there were several *Nuns* in her Chamber; she felt that something took one of her Hands, and having put
into

into it three *Black Thorns*, they closed it; that this being done, without her having seen any Person, she was troubled, and seiz'd with a great Terror, which made her call the *Nuns*, who were in her Chamber; that they came near her, and found the three *Thorns* in her Hand. As she continued to speak, the *Lay-Sister* had some Convulsions, the Particulars whereof the Judges could not take Notice, because this happen'd whilst they went nigh the *Superior*, and were attentive to her Discourse.

THIS Day's Work concluded with an Adventure pleasant enough; whilst *Barre* made his Prayers or Exorcisms, there happen'd a great Noise amongst the Company, and some said that they saw a *Cat* come down the Chimney; this *Cat* was carefully searched for, throughout the Chamber; it threw itself upon the Tester of the Bed; it was catched upon the *Superior's* Bed, where *Barre* had made many Signs of the Cross upon it, and added several Adjurations, but at last it was known to be one of the *Cats* of the *Convent*, and no *Magician* or *Dæmon*.

THE Company being ready to withdraw, the *Exorcist* said it was requisite to burn the *Roses*, where the second *Pact* had been put; and in Effect he took a great Nofegay of white Musk *Roses*, already withered, and cast them into the Fire; there happen'd no Sign upon this Occasion, and the *Roses* caused no ill Smell in burning. Nevertheless they promised the Company that next Day they should see wonderful Events, that the *Devil* should go out; that he should speak more plainly than he had hitherto; and that they would

urge him to give such convincing and manifest Signs of his going out, that no Body should be able to doubt of the Truth of this *Possession*.

RENE HERVE, the *Lieutenant Criminal*, said, that he ought to ask her concerning the Name *Pivart*; *Barre* answered in *Latin*, *Et hoc dicet & Puellam nominabit*, she shall tell it, and name the Maid, meaning to speak of her who had brought the *Roses*.

GRANDIER, who at first made a Mock at these *Exorcisms*, and the Testimony of these pretended *Devils*, seeing that this Affair was push'd on so far, presented a Petition to the *Bailiff* the same Day, being the 12th of *October*, by which he remonstrated to him, That *Mignon* had exorcised these *Nuns* in his Presence; that they had nam'd him as the Author of their *Possession*; that it was an Imposture, and a perfect Calumny suggested against his Honour, by a Man who raised another false Accusation against him, of which he had cleared himself; that he requested him to sequester these *Nuns*, who pretended to be *possess'd*, and cause them to be examin'd seperately; and that if he found any Appearance of *Possession*, he would be pleased to nominate some Ecclesiastical Persons, of a requisite Ability and Honesty, not suspected by him the Petitioner, as *Mignon* and his Adherents were, to *Exorcise* them if there were Occasion, and to make his verbal Process of that which should pass at the *Exorcisms*, to the End that he the Petitioner might be able afterwards to provide as he should see Cause.

THE *Bailiff* gave *Grandier* an Act of his Issues and Conclusions, according to his Desire, and told him, that it was *Barre* who did *Exorcise* the Day before, by the Orders of the Bishop of *Poitiers*, as he had boasted in his Presence; adding, that he declar'd this to him, to the End that he might provide so as he thought fit; by which *Grandier* understood that he should be referr'd to his Bishop.

THE next Day, *October* the 13th, the *Bailiff*, the *Lieutenant Civil*, the *Lieutenant Criminel*, the King's Attorney, the Lieutenant of the Provostship, and *Desbumeaux*, followed by the Clerks of the two Jurisdictions, went to the *Convent* at Eight of the Clock in the Morning; they pass'd the first Gate, which they found open, *Mignon* opened the second, and introduced them into the Parlour; he told them that the *Nuns* were preparing themselves for the *Communion*, and entreated them to retire to a House which was on the other Side of the Street, whence he would cause them to be called within less than an Hour. They went out, after they had given him Notice of the Petition presented by *Grandier* to the *Bailiff* the Day before.

THE Hour being come, they entered all into Chapel of the *Convent*, and *Barre* coming to the Gate with *Mignon*, told them, that he came from *Exorcising* the two *possessed* Persons, who had been delivered from the unclean Spirits by their Ministry; that they had toiled at the *Exorcisms* since Seven o'Clock in the Morning; that there had passed

great Wonders, of which they would draw up an Act ; but that they had not judged fit to admit other Persons there than the *Exorcists*.

THE *Bailiff* remonstrated to them that this Procedure was not reasonable ; that it rendered them suspected of Imposture and Forgery, in the Things which were said and done the foregoing Days, by the Variation that was found in them, and that the *Superior* having publicly accused *Grandier* of *Magick*, they ought not to do any Thing clandestinely, since that Accusation, but in the Face of Justice and the Publick. That they had taken upon them a great deal of Boldness to make so many People, and of such Quality, to wait the Space of an Hour, and in the meanwhile to proceed in the *Exorcisms* in private. That they would make the verbal Process as they had already done in other Things which pass'd in their Presence.

BARRE answered, that the End they aimed at was the Expulsion of the *Devils* ; that their Design had succeeded ; and that they should see a great good Turn to happen upon it, because he had expressly commanded the *Evil Spirits* to produce within eight Days some great Effect, capable of hindering for the future any one's doubting the Truth of the *Possession*, and Deliverance of the *Nuns*. The Magistrates drew up a verbal Process of this Discourse, and of all that had proceeded in it ; but the *Lieutenant Criminel* only would not Sign it.

ALTHOUGH

ALTHOUGH the Impostures of the Enemies of *Grandier* were not very ingeniously contrived, he could not but dread their Malice, their Impudence and their Credit. He saw combined against him the *Lieutenant Criminle*, the *Advocate* and the *King's Attorney*, *Mignon*, and his Brother the *Sieur de la Coulu*, President of the General Assesors, *Granger* Curate of *Venier*, *Duthibaut* and *Barot*. But that which did terrify him most, was this, That he had understood, that they had engaged on their Side *Rene Menim Sieur de Silly*, Major of the Town, a Man who had very much Credit, as well for his Riches, as for the many Offices he possess'd, and above all for his Friends, amongst whom might be reckon'd Cardinal *Richelieu*, who had not forgot many singular Kindnesses which heretofore he had received of him in the Country, when he was but a Curate or Prior, and which he had continued even since his Elevation, and principally at the Time of his first Disgrace.

ALL these Considerations obliged *Grandier* not to neglect this Affair; and to this Effect, believing that he was tacitly referr'd by the Bailiff of *Loudun* to the Bishop of *Poitiers*, he went to find him at *Dissai*, whither he was accompanied by a Priest of *Loudun*, named *John Buron*. The Steward of the Bishop, who was called *du Pin*, having told him that the Bishop was indisposed, he address'd himself to his *Almoner*, and pray'd him to let him understand that he was come to present him the verbal Processes, which the Officers of *Loudun* had made of all Things which had pass'd in the *Convent* of the *Ursulines*; and to complain of the

Impostures and Calumnies which were dispers'd against him. The *Almoner* returning told him, in the Behalf of the Bishop, in the Presence of *du Pin*, *Buron*, and the *Sieur de la Brosse*, that he was to address himself before the Judges Royal, and that he should be very glad that he had Justice done him in this Affair.

GRANDIER, having been able to do nothing more with the Bishop, returned to *Loudun*, and applied himself again to the *Bailiff*. He acquainted him with that which beset him in his Journey to *Disnai*, reiterated his Complaints of the Calumnies which were industriously promoted against him, and besought him to acquaint the King's Justices with the Truth of this Business, protesting that he would make Application at Court to obtain a Commission to bring an Information against *Mignon* and his Accomplices, and demanding to be put under the Protection of the King, and Safeguard of Justice, seeing that his Honour and Life were attempted. The *Bailiff* gave him an Act of his Protestations, with Prohibitions to all sorts of Persons to speak ill of him, or hurt him, this Order was of the 28th of October, 1632.

It would be needless to perplex the Reader with a particular Recital of every Step taken by the vindictive Enemies of *Grandier*, to destroy him, and of the Methods used by him to defeat their Schemes, I shall therefore content myself with observing, that the Bishop of *Poitiers* was pretty much in the Interest of those who sought,
by

by Means of the pretended *Possession* of the *Nuns*, to cover *Grandier* with Infamy, and went to bring him to Death ; however, there were Methods made use of by the Magistrates of the Town, who did their Duty like honest Men, which plainly enough detected the villainous Practices of these who were the Managers of this Business.

THE Bishop of *Poitiers* deputed *Exorcists*, who examined the Persons *possessed*, the Consequence of which was, that *Grandier* was more strongly reported the Cause of these Disorders than ever, whereupon he presented a Petition to the *Bailiff* of *Loudun*, praying that Justice might be done him, accordingly the *Bailiff* under-writ his Petition, that he should have Right done him that very Day.

IN order to this the *Bailiff* and other Magistrates went to the *Convent*, where, in their Presence, *Barre* exorcised the *Superior*, after giving her the Communion, among other Questions that he asked her this was one, Who had introduced the *Devil* into her Body ? She answered, It was *Urban Grandier*, the *Parson* of *St. Peter's* in the *Market-Place*. Upon this the *Bailiff* directed the *Exorcist* to enquire where this pretended *Magician* was at that Time ? As the Question was in the Words of the Ritual, *Barre* was obliged to obey ; the *Possessed* reply'd, that he was in the *Castle-Hall*, at which the *Bailiff* said aloud it could not be ; for he had directed him to go to a certain House, and he was well assured that he was there ; but that every Thing might appear clearly, he

bid *Barre* go with one of the Magistrates, and see where *Grandier* was at that Time, and they accordingly did find him there as the *Bailiff* had affirmed.

HOWEVER black this might appear, the Bishop of *Poitiers* granted a fresh Order for a new *Exorcisms*, which produced such glaring Consequences, that *Grandier* presented a Petition to the Archbishop of *Bordeaux*, praying that he would give such Directions in this Affair, as might make him easy, clear his Character, and set the whole Matter in the fullest Light; in Consequence of this Petition the Archbishop directed the following Order to the *Bailiff* of *Loudun*, in Relation to the *Nuns* who were said to be possessed.

Order of the Archbishop of *Bordeaux*.

FIRST, as soon as the *Sieur Barre* shall have Notice hereof, he shall take with him Father *l'Eicaye*, Jesuit of *Poitiers*, and Father *Gau*, of the Oratory of *Thouars*; and all three shall in their Turns, and in the Presence of two others, perform the Office of the Exorcism, in Case that it be needful; they shall separate the Possessed from the Company of the Society, putting her into such a borrowed House, as they shall judge proper for this Purpose, without leaving any of her Acquaintance with her, except one of the *Nuns*, who had never before that Time been possessed.

THEY

THEY shall cause her to be visited by two or three of the ablest Catholick Physicians of the Province; who, after their having considered some Days, or purged her, if they think it fit, shall make their Report. After the Report of the Physicians, they shall endeavour, by Menaces or Disciplines, if they judge it requisite, or other natural Means to discover the Truth, and whether the Possession be not grounded either on Humours, or on her Wilfulness; after these Things, if they see some supernatural Signs, as her answering the Thoughts of the three Exorcists, which they shall tell their Companions secretly, and that she declares many Things that were done in a far distant Place, or where there is no Suspicion, that she could know it at the Time she is required to tell it: Or, that in many and different Languages, she makes a Discourse of eight or ten Words congruous and coherent; and that being bound Hand and Foot, and laid upon a Quilt on the Ground, where they shall suffer her to lie without any One coming near her, she shall raise herself up from the Ground some considerable Time.

IN this Case they shall proceed to the Exorcisms, Fastings and Prayers being previously observed; and in Case that they came to the Exorcisms, they shall do all their Endeavour to make the Devil give some visible, and not-suspicious Sign of his going out; and in executing this present Order, any other Priests, if they are not called by the common Consent of the three Commissaries, and not suspected, shall not intermeddle upon Pain of Excommunication, speak to, nor touch in any manner of Fashion the Possessed.

AND in Case there are more at the same Time, the same Order shall be observed. And to the Intent that some Libertines may not speak ill of the Care the Church takes in such an Occurrence to shew the Truth of the Possessions, and of the charitable Succours that its Ministers bring the Judges, the Bailiff, and Lieutenant-Criminal only, and no Others, are desired to assist at the Execution of the present Order ; and to sign the verbal Process, which shall be made by the Persons nominated, who shall take for their Register the Prior of the Abbey of St. Jouin.

AND forasmuch as there will be Occasion for great Expences, as well for the Removal of the Nuns, as for calling in Physicians, for the Charge of Diet, for Exorcists, and for Women to be appointed to attend the Sick ; we have ordered (considering the Poverty of the Convent) that the Expence shall be defray'd by Us ; and for this Purpose, we have forthwith commanded the Sieur Barre to order the Farmer of our Abbey of St. Jouin, to furnish them with such Sums of Money as they shall have need of.

AND if the above-named Father l'Escaye, and Father Gau, are not at Poitiers, and at Thouars, or for some Reason they cannot be met with, the Superiors of the Convents shall supply their Default, by furnishing others of an equal Merit, if possible.

THIS Order had a most surprizing Effect, it restored the Nuns to Health, it banished the Devils from Loudun, and, which was still better, it
banished

banished the *Exorcists* ; the *Nuns*, instead of feigned Tortures, suffered real ones ; People opened their Mouths very freely as to their late Conduct, and Want and Infamy made them make pretty free with the Character of *Mignon* and his Associates ; these Men, tho' disappointed, had neither lost their Malice, nor their Cunning, the former put them upon exercising the latter, they sent flattering Messages to the *Nuns* to make them quiet, and began next to practise upon that wonder-working Minister, Cardinal *Richlieu*, who had Power to do any Thing, and a Conscience that stuck at nothing.

How a Man of his Eminence could be drawn to violate the Laws of *God*, of *Nature*, and his *Country*, to protect a Fraud the most black, the most impious, and which is still worse, the most bungling that ever was attempted, to perpetrate a Murder the most barbarous in its Manner, the most cruel in its Circumstances, and which introduced others by its Consequences ; and how, in order to effect all this, he could prostitute the Name of his Master, and the Justice of *France*, must seem strange, and may appear incredible to future Ages, especially if ever one should arise so happy as not to have a Monster of the same Species with the *Cardinal*, whose Crimes may give a Sanction to this Relation ; but it is our present Business to know how the Enemies of *Grandier* engaged his Eminence in their Party, this then shall be delivered in as few Words as possible.

“ A Resolution had been taken in the King’s
 “ Council, to demolish all the Castles and For-
 “ tresses which were in the Heart of *France*, and
 “ to preserve only those of the Frontiers. Car-
 “ dinal *Richelieu*, who was the Author of this
 “ Design, was not willing to let the Castle of the
 “ Town of *Loudun* stand ; for the demolishing
 “ whereof he had particular Reasons, and which
 “ he had very well pursued, by causing one Part
 “ of the Right and Jurisdiction of *Loudun* to be
 “ transferr’d and given to his Town of *Richelieu*,
 “ although he succeeded not in the Project he had
 “ formed, to oblige the better Sort of the Inhabi-
 “ tants to go and People his own Town, those
 “ who had a Mind to retire to change their Habi-
 “ tations, having chose rather to seek for Places of
 “ Protection and Safeguard any where else.

“ THE Commission to Raze this Fortress,
 “ was given to *Lauberdemont*. He was one of
 “ those Men who were absolutely devoted to the
 “ Cardinal, and whom he employed when he
 “ had a Mind to exterminate, ruin and shed Blood
 “ unjustly, by observing nevertheless the Forms
 “ of Justice. He had been already made many
 “ Times a Commissary on the bloody Occasions,
 “ and had the Honour to be often afterwards. He
 “ came to *Loudun* to acquit himself of the Em-
 “ ployment which had been given him. His
 “ principal Conversation was presently with *Me-*
 “ *min de Silly*, a Creature of the Cardinals ;
 “ *Mignon* and all his Friends apply’d themselves
 “ to *Memin*, he presented them to *Laubardemont*,
 “ by whom they were very kindly received, and
 “ who

“ who averr’d, that he would be concerned for
 “ the Affront which had been done to all the
 “ Party, and to the Nuns, whose Superior was
 “ his Kinswoman.

“ T H E Y consulted to find out some Means,
 “ by which they might engage the *Cardinal* to
 “ concur with their Designs, by some Interest
 “ which might touch him in particular, and they
 “ fail’d not ; For what Pretences will not Trea-
 “ chery, Hatred and Revenge make Use of ?
 “ And what are they not capable to invent and
 “ discover ?

“ T H E R E was at that Time about the Queen-
 “ Mother a Woman, named *Hammon*, who
 “ pleas’d that Princess upon an Occasion, in which
 “ she had the Honour to talk to her ; she was
 “ born at *Loudun*, amongst the ordinary People,
 “ and there she had spent the greater Part of her
 “ Life ; *Grandier*, who had been her Parson, and
 “ who knew all the ingenious Women in his
 “ Parish, was particularly acquainted with her.

“ T H E R E had been published, under her
 “ Name, a poignant Satyr against the Ministers,
 “ but above all against the *Cardinal*, whereby many
 “ Particularities of his Life and Ministry were laid
 “ open, for which he shewed much Displeasure
 “ and a very deep Resentment. The Conspira-
 “ tors judged it convenient to attribute this Piece
 “ to *Grandier*, and to give out that he kept a
 “ constant Correspondence by Letters, with the
 “ said *Hammon*, of whom he must needs learn
 “ what was contained in that Satyr. There was
 “ so

“ so much the more Probability in this Accu-
 “ tion, that the Satyr had been published during
 “ the Disgrace of the *Cardinal*, who formerly
 “ when he was but Prior of *Coussai*, had little
 “ Piques against *Grandier*, who pretending him-
 “ self the first of the Ecclesiasticks of *Loudun*,
 “ would no ways yield in any Thing to the Prior
 “ of *Coussai*.

“ T H I S Contrivance was approved by *Lau-*
 “ *bardemont* as very excellent, and likely to pro-
 “ duce in the Mind of the *Cardinal* an eager De-
 “ fire for Revenge, to which he was naturally in-
 “ clin’d.

“ T H E Y brought after this the Commissary,
 “ to see the Grimaces, Postures and Convulsions
 “ of the Nuns, who had by this Time acquired
 “ new Degrees of Perfection in their Manage-
 “ ment, by the Practice of which they were
 “ found very dexterous and expert in the Art of
 “ counterfeiting *Devils*. *Laubardemont* at least
 “ seemed exceedingly satisfied, and promised to
 “ second their Endeavours as soon as he was at
 “ *Paris*, whither he returned as soon as the
 “ Castle was entirely demolished.

“ A T his Departure he left at *Loudun* the *De-*
 “ *vils*, which his Presence had recalled thither,
 “ tho’ they had been dispersed by the Presence of
 “ the Archbishop of *Bordeaux*. They returned
 “ then, as into a House swept and garnish’d fit to
 “ receive many others, who fail’d not to accom-
 “ pany them thither. The *Superior* and Sister
 “ *Clair* had not the Honour only to receive these
 Guests,

“ Guests ; they took Possession of five other
 “ Nuns, besides six which were beset, and two
 “ bewitched. They took also a Turn to the
 “ Town of *Chinon*, where they lodged them-
 “ selves, as it were, in the House of a Friend
 “ and Acquaintance, with two very devout se-
 “ cular Maids, whose Confessor *Barre* was, as
 “ *Mignon* was of those of *Loudun*, possessed, be-
 “ set, or bewitched.

“ T H E R E was written afterwards by these
 “ Priests, or by their Friends, a Book intituled,
 “ *The Demonomania of Loudun*, wherein are con-
 “ tained all the Names of the *Devils*, and of all
 “ the Maids who were tormented, whose Pains
 “ and Sufferings being therein described, without
 “ doubt, excited an extraordinary Compassion in
 “ the Hearts of all good Persons who read it, and
 “ gave Credit to all that was there related.

“ W H I L S T the *Devils* were thus employed,
 “ to the great Astonishment of all People, who
 “ believed that they would never presume to re-
 “ turn, and who could not comprehend or de-
 “ vine upon what Ground they had that Confi-
 “ dence ; *Laubardemont*, who was at *Paris*,
 “ made such high Use of his Credit and Appli-
 “ cation in their Favour, that he received an Or-
 “ der to go back to *Loudun*, to be the Arbitrator
 “ of their Practices, and preside at all their Com-
 “ merce. He arrived there the 6th of *December*,
 “ 1633, at Eight of the Clock in the Evening,
 “ and came to the House of *Paul Aubin Sieur*
 “ *de Bourneuf*, and Son-in-Law to *Memin*.

“ HIS coming was so secret, because of the
 “ Hour and Situation of the Place, which was
 “ in the Suburb, that *Grandier* and his Friends
 “ had no Knowledge of it ; *Memin*, *Heroe*, and
 “ *Menuan*, being quickly come to him, he boast-
 “ ed of his Cunning, in the Prepossessing the *Car-*
 “ *dinal*, who was highly provoked, and had put
 “ into his Hands the Care of his Revenge ; and
 “ afterwards gave them Proofs of the Diligence
 “ he had used, by shewing them his Commission
 “ dated but the last Day of *November*, and the
 “ Contents whereof were as follows:

“ THAT the *Sieur Laubardemont*, Counsel-
 “ lor of the King, in his Council of State, and
 “ Privy-Council, shall go to *Loudun*, and other
 “ Places, as there shall be Occasion, to inform
 “ with Diligence against *Grandier*, upon all the
 “ Facts of which he has been heretofore accused,
 “ and others which shall be anew laid to his
 “ Charge, concerning the Possession of the *Ursu-*
 “ *line* Nuns of *Loudun*, and other Persons, who
 “ are said to be possessed and tormented by *Devils*,
 “ the *Sorcery* of the said *Grandier*, and of all
 “ that which has past since the Beginning, as
 “ well of their *Exorcisms*, as otherwise upon the
 “ Fact of the *Possession* : To make Reports by
 “ the verbal Processes, and other Acts of the
 “ Commissaries delegated thereunto : To assist at
 “ the *Exorcisms* that shall be made ; and of all
 “ to make a verbal Process, and otherwise to
 “ proceed as shall be fitting, for the Proof and
 “ absolute verifying the said Facts ; and upon the
 “ whole to decree, instruct, make, and cause to
 “ be

“ be made, Proceſs againſt the ſaid *Grandier*, and
 “ all others whom they ſhall find Complices in
 “ the ſaid Caſe, even to a definitive Sentence ex-
 “ cluſively, notwithstanding any Oppoſition, Ap-
 “ peal, or Recuſation whatſoever ; for which, and
 “ without Prejudice to the ſame, it ſhall not be
 “ delay’d, even conſidering the Quality of the
 “ Crimes, without having Regard to the Appeal,
 “ which may be demanded by the ſaid *Grandier* :
 “ His Maſteſty commanding all the Governors,
 “ Lieutenant-Generals of the *Province*, and all
 “ the Bailiffs, Senſchals, &c. and other Officers
 “ of the Town, and Perſons whom it may con-
 “ cern, for the Execution hereof, to give all Af-
 “ ſiſtance, and Aid, and Imprifonment, if there
 “ be Cauſe, and that they ſhall be required.

“ HE ſhewed alſo two Ordinances of the
 “ King, ſign’d *Louis*, and lower *Philippeaux*,
 “ dated the ſame laſt Day of *November*, 1633.
 “ Ordaining the ſaid *Laubardemont* to cauſe the
 “ ſaid *Grandier* and his Complices to be imprif-
 “ ſon’d, with the like Command to all the Mar-
 “ ſhals, Provosts, &c. and other Officers and Per-
 “ ſons, to aſſiſt the Execution of the ſaid Ordi-
 “ nance, and to obey for the doing thereof all
 “ the Orders that ſhould be given by the ſaid
 “ *Laubardemont*, and to the Governors, and
 “ Lieutenant - Generals, to give all Aſſiſtance
 “ which ſhould be required of them.

“ THIS large and extraordinary Power which
 “ was given to *Laubardemont*, very pleaſingly
 “ ſurprized the Company which came to hear it
 “ read ; but when it was publiſhed, ’twas not
 “ leſs

256 Gallick R E P O R T S.

“ less surprizing, although after a very different
 “ Manner to all the honest People who beheld
 “ this Affair with a just and disinterested Eye;
 “ they could not sufficiently wonder that he had
 “ again been allowed to inform upon all the
 “ Facts of which *Grandier* had been heretofore
 “ accused, and upon those which should be laid
 “ to him again, as the Commission imported.

“ THE Astonishment however increased yet,
 “ when they saw with what Violence they used
 “ the Authority they had in their Hands; for
 “ they began contrary to all the Rules of Ju-
 “ stice, with the Imprisonment of *Grandier*, be-
 “ fore they had made any Information against
 “ him, to the End that this Blow might be con-
 “ sidered as coming from the Hand of the King,
 “ or rather as an *Anathema* darted by the *Cardi-
 “ nal*, and which was sufficient to dishearten all
 “ the Friends of *Grandier*, encourage the Wit-
 “ nesses whom they would produce against him,
 “ and give the *Nuns* more Liberty and Confi-
 “ dence to act the Parts which were appointed
 “ them.

“ FOR this Purpose *William Aubin*, *Sieur de
 “ la Grange*, Brother of *Bourneuf*, and Liente-
 “ nant of the Provost, was sent for by *Laubar-
 “ demont*, who imparted to him his Commission,
 “ and the Ordinance of his Majesty, by Virtue
 “ of which he ordered him that next Morning
 “ betimes he should seize the Person of *Grandier*.
 “ As this Officer did not believe himself obliged to
 “ be altogether of the Opinion of *Memin*, the Fa-
 “ ther-in-Law of his Brother, he caused *Gran-
 “ dier*

“ *dier* to be secretly acquainted with the Orders he
“ had received.

“ *GRANDIER*, who did not think him-
“ self guilty, returned Thanks to *Grange* for his
“ Generosity, and sent him Word, that confiding
“ in his Innocence, and the Mercy of *G O D*, he
“ resolved not to go aside : So he rose next Morn-
“ ing before Day, according to his Custom, and
“ went with his Breviary in his Hand to the
“ Church of *St. Cross*, to assist at *Matins*. As
“ soon as he was out of the House, *la Grange*
“ seized on him, and arrested him Prisoner, in the
“ Presence of *Memin*, and a great Number of
“ his other Enemies, who were desirous to feed
“ their Eyes with this Spectacle, and to watch
“ the Proceedings of *Grange*, of whose Inten-
“ tion they were not assured.

“ A T the same Instant the Seal Royal was set
“ upon his Chambers and Presses, and all other
“ Places of his House, and upon his Movea-
“ bles ; and *John Pouquet*, Archer of the Guards
“ to his Majesty, and the Archers of the Provost
“ of *Loudun* and *Chinon*, were commanded to
“ conduct him to the Castle of *Angers*, there he
“ remained above four Months in Prison, where
“ *Michelon*, Commandant of that Place, ordered
“ him to be put.

“ H E shewed, during that Time, much Re-
“ signation and Constancy, writing often Prayers
“ and Meditations, the Manuscript whereof, which
“ was twelve Sheets in Quarto, was produced at
“ his Trial, but very unserviceably ; as also the
“ advantageous

“ advantageous Testimony which was given of
 “ him by *Peter Bacher*, Canon, who was his
 “ Confessor, and who gave him the Communion
 “ during his Confinement at *Angers*.

“ *LAUBARDEMONT* deferr'd not long to
 “ search the House of the Prisoner, and to make
 “ an Inventory of his Books, Papers, and Move-
 “ ables: He found nothing sufficient to hurt him,
 “ but a Treatise against *Celibacy*, writ with his
 “ own Hand, and two Sheets of *French Verses*,
 “ which were never published, but which his
 “ Judges treated as Lascivious and Immodest,
 “ without declaring that they were writ, and
 “ much less compos'd by him.

“ T H E Y were not contented to seize these
 “ Pieces, they carried away all the Papers, Evi-
 “ dences, Sentences of Absolution, which the
 “ Person accused might have made use of in his
 “ Defence, notwithstanding the Complaints and
 “ Oppositions of *Jane Esticore*, his Mother, then
 “ Seventy Years of Age.

“ As they did not proceed continually, and
 “ without Intermission, in making this Inventory,
 “ it was not finished 'till the last Day of *January*,
 “ 1634, and in the mean Time they failed not
 “ to begin an Information on the second of the
 “ precedent Month. *Peter Fournier*, and Advoca-
 “ cate, performed the Office of the King's At-
 “ torney: The Mother of *Grandier* seemed
 “ much afflicted, because he was the Son-in Law
 “ of *Richard*, a Proctor, against whom she had
 “ complained, for that he went at Midnight in-
 “ to

“ to a House, to persuade two Women to de-
 “ pose falsely against her Son ; but *Fournier* re-
 “ quired very quickly after to be discharg’d of his
 “ Commission, in the Execution whereof, one
 “ may very probably conclude, that he found his
 “ Conscience touch’d, because through all the
 “ Course of his Life, before and since that Time,
 “ he was always accounted a Man of Honour
 “ and Integrity.

“ THIS first Information was not so soon fi-
 “ nished, but that there was another made the
 “ 19th of the same Month ; and the 30th they
 “ began to draw up in Writing the Depositions
 “ of the *Nuns*. The Friends and Counsel of
 “ *Grandier’s* Mother did their utmost to oppose
 “ the Torrent of so strange and violent a Proce-
 “ dure : She presented, by their Advice, the 17th
 “ of *December*, a Petition to the Commissary,
 “ wherein she appealed from him, because he was
 “ Kinsman of the *Superior* of the *Nuns* ; that he
 “ lodged at the House of one of her Son’s En-
 “ mies ; that he had made him a Prisoner before
 “ any Information or Decree was made against
 “ him ; that he had made the Lieutenant of the
 “ Provost one of the Assistants, who was one of
 “ *Grandier’s* mortal Enemies, when they seized
 “ upon his Person ; that he had deprived him of
 “ all Means to defend himself, by seizing on all
 “ his Papers, and by causing him to be carried out
 “ of *Loudun*.

“ BUT far from allowing of so just Rea-
 “ sons for an Appeal, This is the Order
 “ which *Laubardemont* writ at the Bottom of the
 “ Petition.

“ Petition. *That considering his Petition, and not*
 “ *being informed from any other Part of any just*
 “ *and true Cause to supersede, he should proceed to*
 “ *the Execution of the said Commission, notwith-*
 “ *standing and without Regard to the said Peti-*
 “ *tion, and without Prejudice to the Petitioner, to*
 “ *address herself to his Majesty, if it shall seem*
 “ *good to her so to do.* They urged him to de-
 “ clare concerning the Truth or Falshood, the
 “ allowing or disallowing of the Facts contained
 “ in the Petition, but he would do nothing, and
 “ never answered but in general Terms.

“ WITHOUT the Clause which impower’d
 “ this Commissary to proceed, notwithstanding
 “ any Opposition, Appeal, or Recufation, it is
 “ certain all his Proceedings would have been dis-
 “ annull’d. For besides the Causes of Appeal be-
 “ fore produced, there were every Day new ones
 “ presented which were lawful. *Mignon, Me-*
 “ *min, and Menuan, Mouffaut and Heroe,* were
 “ always at his Elbow, and he made no difficulty
 “ to hear the Witnesses in their Presence. There
 “ were however some who stuck not to depose
 “ for the Discharge of the Person accused ; but
 “ Depositions were not taken in Writing, and they
 “ were sent away with many Threats, to the End
 “ that those who were examined next should not
 “ follow their Examples.

“ THEY published also a Monitory, gloss’d
 “ with many Additions, done by several Hands,
 “ and stuffed with infamous Facts, the Reading
 “ whereof one could not hear without Horror.
 “ The Name of *Grandier* was mention’d therein,
 “ and

“ and the Crimes, the Knowledge whereof they
 “ fought for were so foul and abominable, that
 “ the Ears of all good Men were scandalized.

“ *MOUNIER*, the Priest, who had had a
 “ Suit against him, and who had been a Witness
 “ in the first Affair, of which mention has been
 “ made before, was chose to make this Publica-
 “ tion, as if they had a Mind to make Use of
 “ Persons suspected, and that they gloried in tref-
 “ passing upon all the Forms of Justice, and
 “ Bounds of Equity.”

To dwell on all the extraordinary Circum-
 stances, which attended the Prosecution of this
 unhappy Man, would require much a larger Space
 than can be allowed here, I shall content myself
 therefore with observing, that those who conspired
 against this poor Man's Life, went on openly, and
 without Caution, procuring an Order from the
 King and Council, to support their Proceedings,
 notwithstanding any Appeal which might be made
 to the Parliament of *Paris*.

AN Order was also published, prohibiting, un-
 der an excessive Fine, any Person to speak slightly
 of or dispute the *Possession* of the *Ursuline* Nuns,
 tho' the Practices made use of them to continue
 their *Convulsions*, and their Accusations of *Gran-
 dier* were so gross, that Multitudes saw through
 them.

THE Bishop of *Poitiers*, when he saw the
 King and Cardinal so violent, readily undertook
 to act a Part in this Tragedy himself, in Contempt
 of

of his Ecclesiastical Superior, the Archbishop of *Bourdeaux*; he caused the *Nuns* to be *exorcised* in his Presence, and publicly declared he did not come to be satisfy'd himself, but to oblige others to be satisfied.

AT last these Things grew so flagrant, and *Monf. Laubardemont* and his Associates went on with such Rapidity, that all the People of Sense and Probity in *Loudun* were not only offended, but terrified thereat; they therefore wrote a most humble Letter to the King, representing the true State of Things, beseeching his Majesty to put such a Stop to their Manner of going on, that People need not be in Fear of being reputed *Sorcerers*, for not being in their Interest.

THIS had no Effect, Commissioners well instructed were sent down to hear and determine, and tho' *Grandier* behaved with much Composure and Resolution, tho' he took such Measures after all his Sufferings, as would have effectually convinced any impartial Man of his Innocence; yet after much Grimace, and pretending to a great deal of Charity and Regard to Justice, they published the following extraordinary Sentence.

WE have declared, and do declare, the said Urban Grandier duly attainted and convicted of the Crime of Magick, Sorcery, and the Possessions, happen'd by this Act to the Persons of some Ursuline Nuns, of the Town of Loudun, and other Seculars, together with other Causes and Crimes resulting thereupon; for Reparation whereof we have condemned, and do condemn the said Grandier to undergo

dergo an honourable Amand, bare-headed, a Rope about his Neck, holding in his Hand a burning Torch, of two Pounds weight, before the principal Door of the Church of St. Peter's in the Market, and before that of Ursula in the said Town, and there upon his Knees to ask Pardon of GOD, the King, and the Court; and this done, to be conducted to the publick Place of St. Cross, and there to be tied to a Post upon a Wood Pile, which shall be made in the said Place for this Purpose, and there his Body to be burnt alive, with the Paets and Magical Characters remaining in the Registry, together with the Manuscript by him made against the Celibacy of Priests, and his Ashes to be cast into the Wind.

WE have declared, and do declare all and every of his Goods to accrue and be confiscated to the King, after there has been raised by the Sale of them 150 Livres, to be employed for buying a Copper-Plate, on which shall be engrav'd the Extract of the present Sentence, and the same to be set in an eminent Place of the said Church of the Ursulines, to continue there to Perpetuity. And before the Execution of the present Sentence, we command that the said Grandier shall be put to the Torture ordinary and extraordinary, upon the Article of his Complices. Pronounced at Loudun to the said Grandier, and drawn up the 18th of August, 1634.

HAVING given the Reader the Sentence, I shall proceed with a very exact Relation of all that happen'd to this miserable Man to the Moment he expired. On the Day the Sentence bears date, *Francis Fourneau*, Surgeon, was sent for by

Laubardemont, and although he was ready to obey willingly, and at that Instant, nevertheless they hurried him from his House, and carried him as a Prisoner to the Place where *Grandier* was detained, having been introduced there into the Chamber, *Grandier* was heard to speak to *Mannouri* in these Words; *Cruel Hangman, art thou come to dispatch me? Thou knowest, inhuman Wretch, the Cruelty thou hast executed upon my Body; here continue and make an End of killing me.* Then one of the Exempts great Provost of the Hostel, whom *Laubardemont* caused to be called an Exempt of the King's Guards, commanded *Fourneau* to shave *Grandier*, and to take from him all the Hair upon his Head and Face, and all the Parts of his Body; *Fourneau* going to execute this Order, one of the Judges told him, that he ought also to take off his Eyebrows and his Nails.

THE Patient express'd that he would obey, and let him do it; but the Surgeon protested that he would not do any Thing in it whatsoever Command he might receive, and pray'd him to pardon him if he laid his Hands upon him. I believe, said *Grandier*, you are the only Person that has Pity on me; whereupon *Fourneau* replied to him, Sir, you see not all the World. There were seen upon his Body but two natural Spots, or little Moles, the one placed near the Groin, and the other higher upon the Back, which the Surgeon found very sensible.

WHEN this was done, they gave him not his own Cloaths, but others very bad; afterwards, although his Sentence of Condemnation had been pronounced

pronounced in the Convent of the *Carmelites*, he was conducted by the Exempt of the grand Provost with two of his Guards, and by the Provost of *Loudun* and his Lieutenant, and by the Provost of *Chinon*, in a close Coach, to the Palace of *Loudun*, where many Ladies of Quality were sitting on the Judges Seats in the Chamber of Audience; *Laubardemont's* Lady taking the chiefest Place, altho' she was inferior to a Number of others who were there present; *Laubardemont* was in the usual Place of the Clerk, and the Clerk of the Commission was standing before him. There were Guards round the Palace, and all Avenues, set by the Major *Memin*, who was also in the Palace, standing near the King's Attorney of the Commission, and below the Ladies.

WHEN *Grandier* was entered into the Palace, they caused him to stay some Time at the Bottom of the Hall, near the Chamber of Audience, and after he had been introduced, and that he had past the Bar, he fell upon his Knees, without putting off either his Hat or his Cap, because he had his Hands bound.

THE Clerk having rais'd him up, to make him come near to *Laubardemont*, he put himself again into the same Posture, and the Clerk and the Exempt taking off briskly, the one his Hat, and the other his Cap, they cast them on one Side of *Laubardemont*. *Laetence*, and another Recollect, who had accompanied him from his Prison to the Palace, were attired in their Albs and Stoles, and before they made him enter into the Chamber, they had exorcised the Air, the Earth,

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and the other Elements, as also the Patient himself, to the End that the *Devil* might quit his Person.

BEING thus upon his Knees, and his Hands joined, the Clerk said to him, *Turn thee thou wretched Man, adore the Crucifix, which is upon the Judges Seat*, which he did with great Humility, and lifting up his Eyes towards Heaven, he continued some Time in mental Prayer.

WHEN he had put himself into his former Posture, the Clerk read to him his Sentence trembling; but he heard the reading of it with great Constancy, and a wonderful Tranquility. Then he spake and said, *My Lords, I call to Witness GOD the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and the Virgin Mary, my only Advocate, that I have never been a Magician; that I have never committed Sacrilege; that I know no other Magick than that of the Holy Scripture, which I have always preached; and that I have had no other Belief than that of our Mother the holy Catholick, Apostolick and Roman Church. I Renounce the Devil and his Poms; I own my Saviour, and beseech him, that the Blood of his Cross may be meritorious to me; and you, my Lords, I beseech you to mitigate the Rigour of my Punishment, and put not my Soul in Despair.*

WHEN these Words, accompanied with Tears, had been pronounced, *Laubardemont* caused the Ladies to withdraw, and all Persons who out of Curiosity were in the Palace, and had a very long Conversation with *Grandier*, speaking to him softly

ly in his Ear, whereupon the Patient desired Paper; he did not cause it to be given him, but told him aloud, in a very severe Tone, that there was no other Course to induce the Judge to remit something of the Rigour of the Sentence, but by ingenuously declaring his Accomplices; whereunto he answered, that he had no Accomplices, and protested his Innocence, as he had had always done before.

HOUMAIN, Lieutenant Criminal of *Orleans*, and one of the Reporters, spake to him also in private for that same End, and having received a like Answer, they ordered him to be put to the Torture ordinary and extraordinary, which is done at *Loudun*, by putting the Legs of the Patient between two Planks of Wood, which they bind with Cords, between which they put Wedges, and make them enter by the Blows of a Hammer, to squeeze the Legs, which are more or less according to the Bigness of the Wedges that are used, which sometimes go so far that the Bones of the Legs do crack and fall in Pieces when they are unloos'd; and that those who have undergone this Torture, die in a little Time after.

THEY gave *Grandier* two Wedges more than they usually did to the most criminal; but they were not big enough to the Liking of the *Monks*, and *Laubardemont*, who threatened the Man that had the Care of the Planks, and other Instruments of Torture, to deal with him severely if he did not bring bigger Wedges, from which he could not excuse himself, but by swearing that he had no bigger.

THE Recollect and *Capuchins*, who were present to exorcise the Wedges, the Planks, and the Hammers for the Torture, fearing that the Exorcism had not Effect enough, and lest the Devils should have the Power to resist the Blows of a prophane Man, such as the Hangman was, they themselves took the Hammer, and tortured this unhappy Man ; pronouncing against him terrible Imprecations. *Tantæne Animis cælestibus Iræ ?* Can so much Gall enter the Soul of devout Persons ? Yes, and with just Reason for a Miscreant, a Sorcerer, a Magician deserves not to be spared, when the Glory of GOD is concerned, by which one may discern the Degree of his Zeal and Fervour, by the Degree of the Transport he has against the Crime, and the Criminals.

THE Patient swoon'd many Times during the Torture, but they recovered him out of his Swoon by redoubled Blows ; when his Legs were shatter'd, and that they saw the Marrow come forth, they gave over the Torture, took him out, and laid him on the Pavement.

HE shew'd in this Condition an Example of Firmness and Constancy, which one cannot sufficiently admire ; he let not escape one Word of Repining, nor Complaint against his Enemies ; on the contrary he utter'd, during his Torture, a proper and fervent Prayer to GOD ; and being thus extended upon the Pavement, he pronounced again another, which the Lieutenant of the Provost writ down, whom *Laubardemont* forbid to let it be seen by any Body.

THIS

THIS unfortunate Creature maintained always, in the Midst of the Anguish and Blows which mangled him, that he was neither a Magician, nor Sacrilegious Person, acknowledging, that as a Man he had abused the Pleasures of the Flesh, for which he was confess'd, and had done Penance; but he pray'd his Judges, who urg'd him to explain himself further, that they would not oblige him to name any Body, nor to specify the Sin for which he believed he had obtained Forgiveness, by his Repentance and his Prayers, which he affirmed to be such as a true Christian ought to make.

HE renounced again three or four Times the Devil and all his Pomps, and protested that he never saw *Elizabeth Blanchard*, but when she was confronted to him, very far from having known her after that Manner which she had declared.

HE swooned once again after he had been taken from the Torture, and he came not out of that fainting Fit, but by the Help of a little Wine, which the Lieutenant of the Provost caused speedily to be put into his Mouth; afterwards he was carried into the Council Chamber, and put upon Straw near the Fire, where he demanded an *Augustin Fryar* for his Confessor, whom he saw then before his Eyes, who was also denied him, as well as Father *Grillan*, and he was committed, against his Will, into the Hands of Father *Tranquille*, and Father *Claude, Capucins*.

WHEN they were withdrawn they severely forbid those who guarded him not to let him speak

with any Body, and so he was not seen during the Space of almost four Hours, but thrice by the Clerk of the Commission, by his Confessors, and by *Laubardemont*, who was with him more than two Hours, to force him to sign a Writing which he offered him, and which he constantly refused to sign.

ABOUT four or five in the Evening he was taken from the Chamber by his Torturers, who carried him upon a Hand-Barrow ; in going, he told the Lieutenant-Criminal of *Orleans*, that he had said all, and that there remained nothing more upon his Conscience ; *Will you not*, says this Judge to him then, *that I pray to GOD for you ? You will oblige me by doing it*, reply'd the Patient to him, *and I beseech you to do it*.

HE carried a Torch in his Hand, which he kissed, as he went from the Palace, he look'd upon all the People modestly, and with a settled Countenance, and desired those whom he knew that they would pray to God for him.

As soon as he was come out of the Palace, they read to him his Sentence, and put him in a kind of little Chariot, to bring him before the Church of *St. Peter* in the Market, where *Laubardemont* caused him to come down from the Chariot, to the End that he might put himself upon his Knees, whilst his Sentence was read to him once again ; but having quite lost the Use of his Legs, he fell flat on the Ground upon his Belly, where he tarried without Murmuring, or any Word of Displeasure, till they came to lift him up ; after which
he

he desired the Assistance of the Prayers of those that were about him; Father *Grillan* came to him at this very Time, and embraced him weeping; Sir, said he to him, *Remember that our Lord Jesus Christ ascended to GOD his Father by Torments, and the Cross; you are an able Man, do not Ruin yourself, I bring you your Mother's Blessing; she and I do pray to GOD that he would be merciful to you, and that he would receive you into his Paradise.*

GRANDIER expressed great Satisfaction at the hearing of these Words, and his Countenance seemed very chearful; he thank'd the *Cor-delier* with much Mildness and Serenity, and conjured him to be as a Son to his Mother, to pray to **GOD** for him, and to recommend him to the Prayers of all his *Fryars*, assuring him that he went with Comfort to die Innocent, and that he hoped that **GOD** would be merciful to him, and receive him into his Paradise.

T H A T edifying Conversation was interrupted by the Blows that the Archers gave to Father *Grillan*, whom they thrust with Violence into the Church of *St. Peters*, by the Order of their Superiors, and Father Confessors, who would not suffer the Standers-by to be Witnesses, of the Condition, in which the Conscience of the Patient was.

H E was conducted then before the Church of the *Ursulines*, and from thence to the Place of *St. Cross*, upon the way from which he espied *le Frere Moussant*, and his Wife, to whom he said, *That he*

died their Servant, and that he pray'd them to pardon him.

WHEN he was arrived, he turned himself towards the *Fryars*, who accompanied him, and requested them to give him the Kiss of Peace. The Lieutenant of the Provost would ask him Pardon, *You have not offended*, said he, *you have done but what your Office obliged yon to do.*

RENE BERNIER, Curate of the Town of *Troismontiers*, pray'd him also to pardon him, and asked him if he would not forgive all his Enemies, even all those who had deposed against him, and if he would that he should pray to GOD for him, and to say next Day a *Mass* for his Soul? He answer'd him, *He forgave all his Enemies whatsoever, even as he desired GOD to pardon him; that by all Means he would oblige him, by praying to GOD for him, and by remembering him often at the Altar.*

THEN the Executioner put upon him a Hoop of Iron, which was fastened to a Post, making him to turn his Back towards the Church of *St. Cross*. The Place was fill'd with People, who flock'd in Shoals from all Parts to this dismal Spectacle, and came thither, not only from all the Provinces of the Kingdom, but also from foreign Countries.

THE Place appointed for the Execution was at last so crouded, that those who were to assist there could not put themselves in Order, whatsoever Endeavours the Archers used to make the People retire

tire with Blows of their Halbert-Staves, they could not effect it, and less yet to drive away a Flock of Pidgeons, which came flying round the Pile of Wood, without being frightened by the Halberts, with which they were commanded to strike in the Air, to drive them away, or by the Noise that the Spectators made in seeing them return many Times.

THE Friends of the *Possession* cried out, that it was a Troop of *Devils* who came to attempt the rescuing of the *Magician*, and were much troubled to abandon him. Others said that these innocent *Doves* came for want of *Men* to give Testimony of the Innocence of the Sufferer.

ALL that one can affirm here is, that all the Facts, or at least the principal of them, are generally found in all the Relations that have been kept of them, that most of the People of *Loudun* (who are this Day alive) have been informed of it by their Parents, who had been present, and that there remain some still living in that and foreign Countries, particularly here in *England*, who can attest it, by having been Witnesses thereof.

THE Fathers exorcised the Air, and the Wood, and asked the Patient afterwards if he would not Confess? To whom he replied, *That he had nothing more to say, and that he hoped to be this Day with his GOD.* The Clerk then read to him his Sentence for the fourth Time, and asked him if he persisted in what he had said upon the Rack? He answered, *That he persisted therein, that he had nothing more to say, and that all that*

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he had said was true. Whereupon one of the Monks told the Clerk, that he had made him speak too much.

THE Lieutenant of the Provost had promised two Things in their Presence; the first that he should have some Time to speak to the People; the second that he should be strangled before the kindling of the Fire.

BUT to hinder the Performance of either of these Promises, these are the Courses which the Exorcists took, when they perceived that he was disposed to speak to the People, they cast so great a Quantity of holy Water in his Face, that he was thereby utterly confounded, and seeing that he opened his Mouth a second Time, there was one who went to kiss him, to stop his Words, he understood the Design, and said to him, *There is a Kiss of Judas.*

UPON which their Spite rose to so high a Point, that they hit him many Times in the Face with an Iron Crucifix, which they offered to him as if they had been willing to make him kiss it, which obliged him to content himself in desiring only a *Salve Regina*, and one *Ave Maria*, &c. and to commend himself to GOD, and to the *holy Virgin*, pronouncing these last Words with joined Hands, and Eyes lifted up to Heaven. The Exorcists returned to their Office, and asked him once again, if he would not Confess? *My Fathers* (answered he) *I have said all, I have said all; I hope in GOD, and in his Mercy.*

THESE

THESE good Fathers, to hinder his being strangled, according to the second Promise the Lieutenant of the Provost had made him, had themselves knotted the Rope when it had been put into the Hands of the Executioner, who coming to put Fire to the Wood-pile, the Patient cried out two or three Times, *Is this what I was promised?* And saying these Words, he himself lifted up the Rope, and fitted it.

BUT Father *Lactance* took presently a Wisp of Straw, and having lighted it with a Torch, he put it to his Face, saying, *Wilt thou not Confess, wretched Man, and renounce the Devil?* 'Tis true, *thou hast but a Moment to live. I know not the Devil* (replied *Grandier*) *I renounce him and all his Poms; and I pray GOD to have Mercy on me.*

THE N, without waiting for the Order of the Lieutenant of the Provost, this Monk, taking upon him publicly the Office of Hangman, put Fire to the Pile, just before the Eyes of the Sufferer; who seeing that Cruelty and Unfaithfulness, cry'd out again, *Ab! where is Charity, Father Lactance? This is not what was promised me. There is a GOD in Heaven who will judge thee and me, I summon thee to appear before him within a Month.* Then addressing himself to GOD, he uttered these Words, *Deus meus ad te Vigilo, misereri mei.*

THE N the *Capuchins* began again, to throw all the holy Water in his Face which they had in their holy Water-Pots, to prevent these last Words being heard by the People, and their being edified
by

by them. At last, they said aloud to the Executioner that he should strangle him, which 'twas impossible for him to do, because the Rope was knotted; and that he was stopp'd by the increasing of the Flame, into which the Sufferer fell, and was burnt alive.

It would be an easy Matter, were I not afraid of tiring my Readers, to shew from the strange and dreadful Deaths of some of these merciless and vindictive Priests, that they were thoroughly satisfied of *Grandier's* Innocence. Father *Lactance* dying distracted, and under great Terrors of Mind, which the *Bigots* imputed to the Malice of the *Devils*, and declared his Death wrought by their Means, and that he was a Martyr.

FATHER *Tranquille* fell also into great Uneasiness of Mind; yet the *Possessions* at *Loudun* were still carried on, and Persons of the highest Quality were present at the *Exorcisms*, giving Certificates under their Hands, that they were convinced of the Truth of what they saw, amongst these was *Gaston of Orleans*, the King's only Brother, whose Account is very particular, and shews plainly that he firmly believed the Cheats that were imposed upon him, for that they were no better, Time has made appear, and amongst other Proofs, the following must put it out of Question.

THE Count *du Lude* was among the Number of those who had heard and wonder'd at the Miracles of the *Urfulines*, he came to *Loudun* out of Curiosity, and having seen the Contortions and Convulsions of the *Possessed*, he seemed very well satisfied,

satisfied, and told the *Exorcists*, that he doubted no more of the Truth of the *Possession* than that of the *Gospel*, wherewith the Fathers were very well contented, and they thought him fully persuaded.

HE told them after that, that he had brought a Box of Reliques, which had been left him by his Ancestors; that he really believed that there were some true Reliques, worthy of Men's Veneration; but that there were some also that were false, and that he would fully know of what Order his were, and whether they deserved his Esteem or Contempt; that he had Hopes to know the Truth infallibly at *Loudun*, because if the Reliques were true, the *Devils* would be sensible of the Virtue and Efficacy, and seem disturbed when the Application should be made.

THE *Exorcists* assured the Count that he could not put his Reliques to a better Trial; whereupon they took them from his Hand, and apply'd them to the *Priores*s, after having made a Sign that she understood very well, but whereof the Count who observed them, had also taken Notice.

SHE made at the same Time hideous Cries, and frightful Contorsions; one would have said that she was consumed by an invisible Fire, so extraordinary were her Torments, and her Agitations violent: In the height of that Fit of Rage the Box of Reliques was taken off her, and in an Instant, she seemed as cool and calm as she was before.

THE

THE *Exorcist* then turned himself to the Count, and said to him, *I don't believe, Sir, that you question now the Truth of your Reliques; I doubt no more of it* (reply'd the Count) *than of the Truth of the Possession.* The Father expressed that he desired to see those precious Reliques, and the Spectators signified that they had the same Desire, the Count permitted it, the Box was opened, and the *Exorcist* confounded and nonpluss'd, who found therein nothing but Feathers and Hair instead of the Reliques he sought for. *Ah! Sir,* said he, *why have you mocked us? But Father,* reply'd the Count, *why do you mock GOD and Men?*

THE Death of *Grandier*, and of the Reverend Fathers *LaFance* and *Tranquille*, who both died in an odd Manner, especially, the latter whose last Words were, *Ah how I suffer! I suffer more than all the Devils together, and all the Damned.*

THE *Possession* of *Loudun* came shortly to an End, *Madam de Combalet*, the Cardinal's Niece, represented to him, that the World talked loudly of the Injustice done to the former, and of the strange End of the latter; but above all she pushed the bungling Manner in which this Cheat was carried on, whereby she procured the Pension of 4000 *Livres*, allowed the *Exorcists*, to be taken away, and this Supply cut off, the *Devils* decamped.

AT

AT *Chinon*, however, they held up a little longer, and therefore it is fit the Reader should know how Things ended there likewise, because this will give the finishing Stroke to the History of these Impostors, and fully prove that the *Devil* had nothing farther to do with these People, than by the Thoughts he suggested to these Priests.

IN the Year 1640, there was one of the *Possessed*, named *Belloquin*, who being provoked by some violent Passion against a Priest, called *Giloire*, or solicited by some of his Enemies, caused a Pullet to be bought, by a Woman, her Neighbour, and having let out the Blood, she preserved it in a Viol, and eat at Night the Pullet, in the Company of that Neighbour who bought it, and of another Man, one of her Friends, whom she had invited, to whom without doubt she did not impart her Design.

THE next Day she went very early into the Church of *St. James*, as it were, to perform her Devotions, and finding no Body there, she went to the Altar, and poured the Blood out of the Glass upon the Linnen Cloth which covered it.

WHEN *Barre*, the Curate of that Church, came thither, and went to the Altar, he made great Enquiries to know how that Blood came there; whereupon receiving no Information from Men, he interrogated the Devil of *Belloquin*, who being urg'd by the *Exorcism*, answer'd that it came from the Maid herself. That it was the Priest *Giloire*, who being informed by Magical Art, met
the

the Maid in the Church very early in the Morning, as she came to perform her Devotions, and that he had Ravished her upon the Altar.

T H A T Declaration, which caused a Horror in all good Catholicks, and which at first held some others in Suspence, open'd the Eyes of her Neighbours, who had bought the Pullet ; she discovered her Suspicions to another Friend, who could not hold her Peace, so that the Report thereof began to spread abroad, 'till it came to the Ears of the *Lieutenant Criminel*.

T H I S Magistrate making a very strict Enquiry, came at last to the very Rise of that Report. The Friend and the Neighbour of *Belloquin*, who had eaten the Pullet, were sent for, and interrogated ; they declared what they knew, and what they suspected. The verbal Process of their Examination was taken in writing, and sent to the Archbishop of *Tours*.

B E L O Q U I N, who had Notice of it, took, at a *Pewterer's* House at *Chinon*, a leaden Buckle, which she put into her *Matrix*, and bound it in with a Napkin, complaining bitterly of the Pains she felt by Stoppage of Urine, which was caused her by the Sorceries of certain Magicians. She desired afterwards of the Ecclesiasticks, who were *Exorcists* at *Chinon*, to be conducted to *Tours*, before the Archbishop, to receive from that Prelate, by the Authority of the Church, some Relief to the Pains she endured.

B U T

BUT some Spies among the Friends of *Belouquin*, having been misinformed, gave her false Advice, and the Archbishop, favourable to the *Possession*, was not to be met with in his Diocese. The Coadjutor, who supplied his Place, heard quietly the afflicted Person, and promised to assist her, and for that Effect to use all the Means which should be in his Power.

BELOQUIN took Courage again, and comforted herself for the unlucky Absence of the Archbishop. The Coadjutor, to perform his Word, caused two lusty and strong Men to be called, whom he commanded to hold her, and two Midwives, whom he ordered to search her.

THAT Search discover'd the Cheat, at which the Coadjutor being exceedingly offended, caused the pretended *Possessed* to be put into the Prison of *Chinon*, and went himself quickly after to the same Town, where having made an Information against her, and against all the Cabal of her Confederates; he sent for the Judges of *Richelieu* and *Chinon*, to proceed to Judgment in that Matter; which was carried on with so much Vigour, that none doubted but that the Guilty would be severely and exemplarily punished.

BUT the Sollicitations of the Kindred of the pretended *Possessed*, the most Part whereof belonged to considerable Families of *Chinon*, and especially to the Family of the Counsellor *Chefnon*, who was of the Number of the Judges; the Orders of Cardinal *Richelieu*, who desired that the
Business

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Business of the *Possession* should be without Noise, least it should call to Mind what had formerly happened.

THESE Orders (I say) and these Sollicitations, hindered the Punishment from being so terrible and exemplary, as it would otherwise have been.

BARRE was only depriv'd of his Cure, and his Prebend exiled out of the Diocese of *Touraine*, and confin'd to the Town of *Mans*, where he kept himself conceal'd to the End of his Life, in a Convent of Monks ; and the Maids whom he exorcised, were condemn'd to pass the rest of their Days between four Walls.

To shew the Sense of honest and intelligent Men of all Persuasions, I will conclude with a Letter of Mr. *Patin's*, printed in the 130th Page of the *Hague* Edition of his Letters, and dated at *Paris* the 22d of *December*, 1651.

“ THE 9th of this Month, at Nine of the
 “ Clock at Night, a Coach was set upon by Rob-
 “ bers : The Noise which they made caused the
 “ Townsmen to come out of their Houses, as
 “ well possibly out of Curiosity as Charity.

“ THEY shot on both Sides ; one of the Rob-
 “ bers, having received a Shot, fell to the Ground,
 “ and a Lacquey of their Party was seized. The
 “ others fled. The wounded Person died the next
 “ Day in the Morning, without saying any Thing,
 “ or complaining, and without declaring who he
 “ was.

“ How-

“ H O W E V E R, he was known at last to be
“ the Son of a Master of Requests, named *Lau-*
“ *bardemont*, who condemned to Death, in 1634,
“ the poor Parson of *Loudun*, *Urban Grandier*,
“ and caused him to be burnt alive, under the
“ Pretence that he had sent the Devil into the
“ Bodies of the Nuns of *Loudun*, whom they
“ had caused to learn some tumbling Tricks, to
“ persuade Fools that they were *Demoniacks*.

“ M A Y not this be taken for a divine Punish-
“ ment of G O D, upon the Family of that un-
“ happy Judge, to expiate, in some Manner, the
“ cruel and merciless Death of that poor Priest,
“ whose Blood still cries for Vengeance.”



C A S E



C A S E VII.

*The Celebrated HISTORY of Madam
TIQUET, who attempted to as-
sassinate her Husband.*



HERE sometimes happen Instances in the World, of Persons of good Sense committing great Crimes, such beyond Question was the Case of the Lady, of whom we are now speaking, who, in every other Action of her Life, shewed no want of Judgment, tho' never any Thing was more weak, or indiscreet, than the Attempt which destroyed her : But it is my Business to relate, and not to Moralize.

THIS Lady was the Daughter of *Monf. Carrier*, a Bookseller at *Metz*, who was so Fortunate in Trade, that he left behind him a Round
Million,

Million, *i. e.* of *French Livres*, or Fifty Thousand Pounds. She was born in the Year 1657, and lost her Father when she was but Fifteen Years old, having none to share with her the mighty Fortune left, except a younger Brother.

As to her Person, it was in every Respect lovely; she had a fine Face, attractive Eyes, a majestic Look, fine Air, tall in Stature, and exactly Shaped; her natural Parts were shining in themselves, and had received all the Adornments which could be derived from Education; thus accomplished, her only Fault seemed to be a Haughtiness in Behaviour, and a certain Arrogance in Words, which did not become a Woman of her Birth.

If this young Lady had not been excessively Rich, nor remarkably Witty, her Beauty alone would have engaged a Crowd of Lovers; but when her Charms were set off by the Endowments of the Mind, and the Favours of Fortune, what Wonder that she triumphed over a Multitude of Hearts.

Among these was *Monf. Tiquet*, Counsellor of Parliament, he might in all Probability have fighed among a Train of hopeless Lovers, if he had not made use of Art in Love, as well as in Law, he practised on an Aunt, who had a great Ascendency over his fair Mistress, and by a Present of Four Thousand *Livres*, so effectually persuaded her of his Passion, that she was continually dinning her Niece's Ears with his Praise.

AFTER

AFTER some Time attending, as the rest did, *M. Tiquet* began to fancy, that with the Assistance of his Solicitrix, he had found a way to his Charmer's Heart; He remarked in several of her Actions an exorbitant Pride, and a prodigious Fondness for Magnificence and Expence, he one Day therefore took an Opportunity of presenting to the Lady a fine Nofegay of Flowers, intermixed with Diamonds, to the Value of 15000 *Livres*; these dazzled her Eyes, and wounded her Heart, that is to say, they induced her to prefer *M. Tiquet* to the rest of her Lovers, because she looked on him to be the most Rich and Generous of them all.

THE Aunt improved the kind Sentiments she had for this Gentleman, while he on the other Hand never examined the Temper or Qualities of his Mistress; but, believing all Things about her were as fair as her Person, resolved at all Events to marry her, if he could gain her Consent.

ASSIDUITIES like his are seldom continued long, without producing their Effect; the Lady was not more inexorable than the rest of her Sex, and therefore her Aunt's Lectures, and *M. Tiquet's* Presents, at length subdued her Heart, or to speak more properly, procured her Hand, which, with great seeming Tenderness, she gave to *M. Tiquet*.

THIS Marriage, concluded without Consideration, tho' not in a Hurry, little answered the Expectations of either of the Parties; Madam *Tiquet* on her Part thought of nothing but her Husband's Riches, and how she might waste them in
Subserviency

Subserviency to her Pleasures. The Counsellor was so taken up with the Beauty and Fortune of his Wife, that he made no Question of her Virtue, which to his Cost he found afterwards was a Point he ought to have considered. The Lover thought his Mistress Rich, thus far he was right, his Mistress thought the same of him, in this she was wrong, here lay the Source of their Misfortunes.

THE first Months of their Marriage were full of Smiles, and over-flowed with Joys, the Lady was delighted with her new Husband ; *M. Tiquet* spoke in Raptures of his Wife, and to crown all this, she brought him at one Birth a Son and a Daughter, to be the Pledges of their Love.

THESE happy Times lasted not long, the excessive Expences of Madam *Tiquet* obliged her Husband, who was far from being Rich, to endeavour to set some Bounds to them, tho' against his Will. The *Sieur Mongeorge*, Captain in the Guards, a Person who had all the Qualities of a fine Gentleman, so dazzled the Eyes of Madam *Tiquet*, that her Husband appeared odious ; and she and that Officer quickly indulged to themselves the Criminal Passion they had for each other.

THE Jealousy of the Husband, lighted up by these kind of Proceedings, heightened in Madam *Tiquet* the Aversion she had conceived for her Spouse. A Husband who crosses a Wife's Inclination, and a Lover who endeavours only to gratify, must each of them make a great Progress in the Heart of a Woman ; the first in improving her

Aversion, the other in increasing her Affection, and each contributes to the others Purpose, without intending any Thing more than to go on in his own Road.

THAT which was more surprizing, and which seems to render the Conduct of Madam *Tiquet* more incomprehensible, was, that in the midst of her ardent Passion for the *Sieur de Mongeorge*, which ought wholly to have taken up her Heart, she, to gratify a depraved Appetite, engaged in a Variety of mean Amours.

IN the midst of all these Disorders she knew how to preserve Appearances perfectly well, and to behave herself in such a Manner, that she was very well received in the best Companies, where she expressed herself in Conversation in so lively, and at the same Time in so sublime a Manner, that no Body had the least Notion of her Foibles; in a Word, her Soul and Character contained a frightful Mixture of Pride and Baseness, of Passions elevated beyond Description, and low beyond Expression.

Mons. Tiquet was over Head and Ears in Debt, and his Debts were increased by the Expences he had gone into, on Account of his Marriage, he was now exposed to the Pursuit of his Creditors, who, as is usual in such Cases, were for being paid all at once.

THIS gave an Opportunity to his Wife, to procure a Separation of Effects, by a Sentence of the *Chatelet*. There were two Things which made this Lady not dislike only, but abhor her Husband,

Husband, one that he had deceived her in Point of Fortune, the other, that his Jealousy interrupted her Pleasures, by watching her Steps as closely as Man could do.

HER Hatred was come to such a Pitch, that it turned at last to Fury, and she was so much irritated against a Spouse, by whom she thought herself ill used, that she resolved to have him assassinated.

NEITHER the Noise of such an Action, the Infamy inseparable from it, nor the prodigious Risque she ran in the Perpetration of her Scheme, could at all prevail upon her to hesitate, much less to desist: She had some Knowledge of a Fellow, of vile Character, one *Augustus Cattelain*, who used to serve Strangers while they stay'd at *Paris*, to this Man she gave a considerable Sum of Money, and promised him more, in Case he would take upon him to be the Minister of her Vengeance in destroying her Husband.

SHE gained his Porter by the same Means, and drew him to be engaged with *Cattelain* in this detestable Design. They took their Measures wrong, and missed striking their Blow on *M. Tiquet*, as he came Home one Evening, notwithstanding they had drawn in several Persons to waylay him.

THIS Enterprize having failed, Madam *Tiquet* still persisted, she gave the Porter and *Cattelain* a further Sum of Money, to bury in Oblivion this dark Affair, giving them to understand in the

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mean Time, that it might cost them their Lives if they spoke of it.

M. Tiquet, who suspected that his Porter favoured his Wife's Commerce with the *Sieur de Mongeorge*, discharged that Domestick, and took Care of the Keys himself; he kept his Door always shut 'till Night, and no Body could get in without speaking to him; when he went out in the Evening he carried it with him in his Pocket, and when he came back he delivered it to no Body, 'till he went to Bed, and then he put it under his Head. Monsieur and Madam *Tiquet* had by this Time seperate Beds, and seperate Apartments, so that they never saw each other but at Table.

FOR three Years together they lived in this Manner, preserving constantly a sullen Silence, their Behaviour, however, being of such a Nature, that these mute Senses sometimes conveyed as strong Ideas as if there had been a great deal of Noise made.

IN this Space she gave Directions to a *Valet de Chambre* of her Husband's, to carry him a Porringer of Broth, which was poisoned; the Fellow suspecting something, made a false Step on Purpose, and threw it down; he afterwards desired Leave to quit his Service, and as soon as he left the House he made no Secret of the iniquitous Mystery he had discovered.

THIS irritated the Lady so much, that she determined with herself to find out a short Remedy, by recurring to her first Project; however iniquitous,

iniquitous, she opened her Scheme on this Head to her Porter, and directed him to find Persons who could execute it.

ONE Day she came into the Apartment of the Countess *D'Aunoy*, when there was a great deal of good Company there, her Countenance was so disturbed, that some Body, who was there, could not help taking Notice of it, and asking her the Reason of it? *I come* (said she) *from passing two Hours with the Devil.* With the Devil, Madam, replied the Countess *D'Aunoy*! sure you keep strange Company: *When I say the Devil* (replied Madam *Tiquet*) *I mean a certain Fortune-Teller.* Well (cry'd the Countess *D'Aunoy*) and what has she told you? *She has flattered me, Madam, in a most extraordinary Manner; for she has told me,* (said Madam *Tiquet*) *that in two Months I shall be out of the Reach of all my Enemies, and that no Body will have it in their Power to give me Disquiet: I say she has flattered me, Madam, for what hopes is there of this, since my Husband is in good Health, and not the least Hopes of his dying out of the way.*

As this strange Adventure happened on the very Day of the Attempt made on *Mons. Tiquet*, when that was discovered, it appeared the more extraordinary, it may be, that the Story was a Fact, and that the Impression the Woman's Prediction made on Madam *Tiquet's* Mind, was so strong, as to force her to this Declaration, or else, it may be, she framed this Tale upon the Spot, in order to account for the Confusion she was in on the near

Approach of that Tragedy which she was resolved to execute.

S H E then went Home to her House, where she found *Madam de Senonville*, one of her Intimates, who waited for her, they spent the Evening together, in discoursing of different Things; and tho' it is not to be doubted, but *Madam Tiquet* felt great Uneasiness in her own Mind, when the Hour of Assassination drew near; yet it is certain that she dissembled so well, kept so steady a Countenance, and discoursed with so much seeming Ease and Freedom, that *Madam de Senonville*, who staid late out of a Womanish Spleen, that she might make *M. Tiquet* get out of his Bed to let her out, did not apprehend her Friend to be at all vexed or out of Order.

I T happened that *M. Tiquet* went to pay a Visit to a Neighbour of his, one *Madam de Villemur*, and staid there pretty late. His Servants sitting up for him heard several Pistol-shots in the Street before the Door, upon which, running out in a Hurry, they found their Master assassinated, and weltring in his Blood; they ran to his Assistance, and he desired that they would carry him back to *Madam de Villemur's*, which was done accordingly, and then his Domesticks went to acquaint their Lady; she putting on a great Surprize, went immediately to the House where he was, to enquire how he did, but that was all she could do; for he having earnestly desired that she might not enter the Room where he was, she was constrained to go back without seeing him, at which she affected some Concern.

H E

H E had received three Wounds, but none of them were mortal, the most dangerous was a Shot very near his Heart ; with respect to which there was an Observation made by his Surgeon, which, whether true or false, deserves Notice, it was this ; that the sudden Palpitation which seized him on the Approach of the Assassins, occasioned an Alteration in the ordinary Position of that Muscle, which otherwise must have been pierced through and through.

T H E Commissary of that Quarter of the Town came immediately to see and to examine *M. Tiquet*, as soon as his Wounds were dressed ; the first Question he asked him was, *Sir, what Enemies have you ?* The poor Gentleman answered, *I know of none except my Wife* ; this Answer of his confirmed the Suspicions of the World, which, as soon as the Thing was known, rolled immediately upon her.

S H E did not, however, suffer her Conduct to betray the least Signs of Guilt ; but manifested upon this Occasion, a Constancy scarce to be accounted for.

S H E went the next Day to the Countess *D'Aunoy*, where, tho' all the Company observed her, yet she not only appeared serene, but exercised her Wit as much as usual.

T H E Countess, willing to put her to the utmost Test, asked her at last if *M. Tiquet* had not some Suspicion of the Person who caused him to

be assassinated ? Madam *Tiquet* answered, *Alas ! He is so unjust as to lay it upon me !* The Countess *Aunoy* replied, that the best Thing which could be done would be to secure the Porter whom he had lately turned away.

THE Discourse ran on this Subject for half an Hour, and tho' all Eyes were upon this unhappy Woman, yet neither her Looks, nor her Words, betray'd any Confusion ; but rather seemed inspired by that Resolution, which is the Effects of Innocence. She went Home, and appeared there as composed as ever, notwithstanding that she was every Day advised to retire, and seek out some Place of Safety.

THESE Hints were repeated to her from Time to Time, to the 8th Day, when a *Theatine* came hastily into her Chamber, and addressed her thus :

“ MADAM, there is no Time to be lost, in a few Moments you will be apprehended, I have brought you here one of the Habits of my Order, slip it on, get down Stairs, there is a Sedan waits, which will carry you to a Place where there is a Post-Chaise, in which you may go immediately to *Calais*, and from thence to *England*, 'till we see what Turn Things will take.”

“ SUCH Measures (reply'd Madam *Tiquet*) are proper for the Guilty, Innocence is every where secure ; these Reports are spread by my Husband, to Prejudice me in the Eye of the
“ World,

“ World, and to intimidate me so far as to leave
 “ my Country, that he may get my Fortune in-
 “ to his Hands ; but his Skill shall fail him, I am
 “ not frightened, I will fall in the Hands of the
 “ Law, for I doubt not but the Law will do me
 “ Justice.”

S H E then thanked the *Theatine* for his Civ-
 ility and Kindness, and waited with much seeming
 Tranquility the Issue of the Business. She flat-
 tered herself she had taken such Precautions, that
 no Proof could possibly appear of her having pro-
 cured the Assassination of her Husband ; and full
 of these Hopes she supported her Spirits, and acted
 the Heroine to the highest Degree of Perfection.

T H E next Day Madam *de Senorville* came to
 see her, and when she would have gone away
 Madam *Tiquet* desired her to sit still, for, said she,
 I shall presently be arrested by the Officers of Ju-
 stice, and I would not have them find me alone.
 The Words were scarce out of her Mouth, when
 the *Sieur Delfita*, Lieutenant-Criminel, entered
 the Room.

M A D A M *Tiquet* arose, and paid him her Com-
 pliments with great Sedateness, “ You needed not,
 “ Sir, said she, have brought this mighty Escort,
 “ I never had any Intention to fly, and if you
 “ had come alone, I should have gone with you
 “ where-ever you were pleased to carry me.”

S H E then desired him to put his Seal upon her
 Effects, that her Fortune might suffer as little as
 possible. She next took Pains to quiet her Son, a

Boy of 8 or 9 Years old, of whom she was prodigiously fond, she gave him Money to divert himself with, and to silence his Fears, put on a Pleasantry in her Looks, which surprized all that were near her.

AFTER taking her Leave of *Madam de Sinoville*, she went down Stairs with the *Lieutenant Criminel*, and went with much Alacrity into the Coach with him; as they passed through the Street, she saw a Lady of her Acquaintance, whom she saluted with all her usual Politeness and Affability; she looked sometimes on the Archers who guarded her, but without Emotion, and seemed as easy as if she had been going to pay a Visit.

ON her coming, however, to the *Little Chatelet*, she changed Colour; but she presently recovered it again, and appeared as serene as ever; she was carried from thence in a short Time to the *Grand Chatelet*. *Augustus Cattelain* went of his own Accord, and put himself into the Hands of Justice, making an open Confession, that three Years before, *Madam Tiquet* had engaged him in a Conspiracy to murder her Husband, in which also her Porter was concerned: It was upon this that she was apprehended; for as to the last Assassination, there was no Proof against her at all.

THE Crime, therefore, laid to this Lady's Charge, was not the actual causing her Husband to be assassinated, but for having been concerned in a Conspiracy for that Purpose, which had not however taken Effect; as for this Fact she incurred a Capital Punishment, the Judges of the *Chatelet*,

on

on the 3d of *June*, 1699, passed Sentence upon her, and upon the *Porter*, by which she was adjudged to have her Head cut off, and he to be hang'd. This was afterwards confirmed by an Arret of Parliament to the following Purpose.

“ That the Court being satisfied with the Proof
 “ of *Madam Carlier*, Wife of the *Sieur Tiquet*,
 “ and *James Moura*, late Porter to the said *Ti-*
 “ *quet*, having entered into a Conspiracy for his
 “ Assassination; and of the said Lady's disbursing
 “ several considerable Sums to the said *Moura*, and
 “ other Accomplices, and of their receiving such
 “ Sums, and acting according to that Lady's Di-
 “ rections; for which the have adjudged the said
 “ *Madam Tiquet* to suffer on a Scaffold, to be e-
 “ rected in the *Place de Greve*, by having her
 “ Head struck off; and the said *Moura* to suffer,
 “ by being hanged on a Gallows, to be erected at
 “ the said Place, by the Neck, 'till he be dead,
 “ and afterwards to remain on the Gibbet of *Paris*
 “ 24 Hours; all their Effects to be confiscated,
 “ and a Hundred Thousand *Livres* to be taken
 “ out of the Effects of *Madam Tiquet*, and paid
 “ to her Husband, of which he is to have the Use
 “ during his Life, proper Security being taken that
 “ the said Sum shall descend whole and untouch'd
 “ to his Children of this Marriage; that before
 “ their Execution both *Madam Tiquet* and *Moura*
 “ shall endure the Torture ordinary and extraor-
 “ dinary, in order to discover who were their Ac-
 “ complices, and to furnish authentick Proof a-
 “ gainst those who are already suspected, and in
 “ Custody.

“ T H E

“ THE Parliament, upon the Appeal of Madam *Tiquet*, amended this Sentence in one Respect, *viz.* that the *Sieur Tiquet* should have and receive, to his own proper Use and Benefit, Twenty Thousand *Livres*, besides the Hundred Thousand adjudged, and which were to descend to his Children; but for the rest, referred the Criminals back to the Provost of *Paris*, and his *Lieutenant-Criminel*, in order to the first Sentence being put in Execution.

Augustus Catelain, notwithstanding his being an Evidence, was condemned to the Gallies for Life; a just Sentence to so notorious a Villain, who questionless made this Discovery, not from any Principle of Justice, but with hopes of saving himself from that violent Death, which his Crimes had long before deserved.

Mons. Tiquet, being cured of his Wounds, went to *Verfailles*, accompanied by his two Children, and threw himself at the Feet of the King. *Sire*, said he, *I implore your Mercy for Madam Tiquet; be not more severe than GOD himself, who doubtless has pardoned her on her Repentance; Has your Justice been more offended than I? Yet I freely forgive her; and my Children lift, for their Mother, their pure and innocent Hands, to your Majesty; the Crime she intended has been expiated by the Terrors and Afflictions she has felt in the deplorable Condition she is now in, ready to fall a Sacrifice to Justice; as her Crime then is done away, do not, Sir, inflict Death for Repentance.*

THE

THE King, however, was inexorable, nevertheless he granted to *M. Tiquet* all the Effects of his Wife, which would otherwise have escheated to the Crown, that his own and his Children's Circumstances might be made more easy.

THE Brother of this unhappy Woman, who was a Captain in the Guards, as well as the *Sieur Mongeorge*, used all his Interest to save her, in so much that People of the first Quality solicited the King to spare her Life; at last his Majesty yielded: But the Archbishop of *Paris*, the famous Cardinal *de Noailles*, interposed, and told him, that if such a Crime escaped with impunity, it would become frequent; that the Security of married Men's Lives depended on the Death of Madam *Tiquet*; since the grand *Penitentiary's* Ears were already dinn'd with the Confessions of Women, who charged themselves with having attempted their Husband's Lives. This Remonstrance determined the King, who thereupon declared that Madam *Tiquet* should be made an Example.

WHEN she was led to the Chamber of the Question, she asked the People who were with her, when her affair would be finished, she not knowing any Thing of the Sentence; they answered her, presently. The Curate of *St. Sulpice* came to her, and endeavoured to inspire her with Religious Principles; but she was deaf and obdurate, pretending to wait all that could happen with a Pagan Constancy.

WHEN

WHEN she was brought before the *Lieutenant-Criminel*, he ordered her Sentence to be read, looking all the while stedfastly upon her, that he might perceive what Effects it produced. Madam *Tiquet* heard it without the least Emotion, or Change of Colour, the *Lieutenant-Criminel* then spoke to her in the following Terms :

“ MADAM, You have heard read to you an
“ Arret, which has thrown you into a Condition
“ far different from that you were in before. You
“ were honourable in your Rank, and you enjoy’d
“ all those Pleasures which render Life agreeable
“ and entertaining ; you are now sunk into a
“ Gulph of Ignomy, and are on the Point of
“ suffering a shameful Death. Alas ! Madam, what
“ a Difference between those joyful, those laugh-
“ ing Days, and this horrid, this disastrous Day
“ of Grief ! You will find it necessary, Madam,
“ to summon all your Fortitude to receive with
“ a proper Humility this bitter, yet this salutary
“ Cup ! and to be able to say with the Royal
“ *Psalmist*, *I will Receive the Cup of my Salva-*
“ *tion !* You ought Madam, to throw yourself
“ into the Arms of GOD, and to cry with the
“ *Psalmist*, *I will invoke thy Name, O LORD :*
“ ’Tis he alone who can enable you to support
“ the Weight of your Cross, and sweeten that
“ bitter Cup of which you are about to drink.
“ After all, Madam, your Punishment, dreadful
“ as it is, need not much affright you, if you
“ consider that sincere Repentance will make it
“ as short, as your Sins have made it a violent
“ Passage to everlasting Rest.

MADAM

MADAM *Tiquet* answered, "I am now before you (said she) in the Posture of a Suppliant, you have known me, Sir, in those Days which you recall to my Remembrance wear another Character, even in your Presence (she said this because the *Sieur Deffita* had once been one of her Admirers) as to the rest, Sir, I am far from being affrighted at my Punishment, the Day which terminates my Life, will also put an End to my Misfortunes; I do not pretend to brave Death, Sir, but I know that I can support it. I shall answer from the Stool with Composure, I attend my Fate with Steadiness, and shall not be disordered on the Scaffold, or at the last Gasp of my unhappy Life." The *Lieutenant Criminel* exhorted her to confess her Crime, and name her Accomplices, that she might escape the Torture; she refused at first, but after they had given her the first Pot of Water, she reflected that her Constancy would be of no use, and therefore she acknowledged all. They asked her if the *Sieur de Mongeorge* had any Knowledge of this Affair? Upon which she cried out, Alas! If I had communicated the least Tittle of it to him, I should have lost his Esteem beyond retrieving.

THE Parson of *St. Sulpice* was then admitted to her again, but he found her in quite another Temper; she heard, with great Docility, all his Instructions, and appeared to be thoroughly touched with the Sentiments of true Religion: She over and over entreated him to beg Pardon of her Husband, and to assure him, that in the Article of
Death

Death she had for him all that Tenderneſs which had made the firſt Year of their Marriage ſo delightful.

T H E R E was perhaps never ſeen in *Paris* ſo great a Crowd, as in the Streets through which Madam *Tiquet* paſſed to *Le Greve*, Numbers who were ſtifled in the Preſs, paid dear for their Curioſity ; ſhe went in a Coach, and the Curate of *St. Sulpice* with her ; the Porter was there before her, and had with him a Confefſor. At the Sight of this amazing Multitude her Spirits began to ſink, the Clergyman who was with her endeavoured to conſole her in theſe Words.

“ M A D A M, look not on this Side, or that,
 “ but look up to Heaven, whither you are going,
 “ drink Madam this bitter Cup with ſomewhat of
 “ that Courage with which it was drank by Jeſus
 “ Chriſt, who was as innocent as you are guilty ;
 “ ſo great a Model, and ſo noble a Recompence in
 “ Caſe you reſign yourſelf with a juſt Humility to
 “ the Will of G O D, will enable you to ſupport
 “ this Load of Infamy, by cauſing you to per-
 “ ceive with the Eyes of your Faith, as will more
 “ than compenſate for the Horror you conceive
 “ from thoſe Proſpects which are beheld by the
 “ Eyes in the Body.

“ T H I S Shame is one of the ſecret Treasures
 “ of G O D, whereby he has provided a Means
 “ for your Salvation. Admire then his Goodneſs,
 “ ſubmit to his whoſome Severity, and acknow-
 “ ledge that he is moſt merciful, even in this ſeem-
 “ ingly rigorous Diſpenſation. For after all will
 “ you

“ you not, by a momentary Pain, purchase eternal Peace in that Kingdom of Quiet, where no more Storms can arise.” Revived and encouraged by these Words, she lifted up her Hood, and looked upon the Spectators with an Air at once modest and resolved.

SHE had after this a moving Conversation with her Porter, who humbly besought her Pardon for any Share he might have in her Death; she answered, that he had no Reason to ask her Pardon, since it was she only that was culpable towards him, in drawing him into such a Contrivance, and bringing him to a shameful End, for a Life spent in her Service. They then exhorted each other to die with Christian Charity, as well as Constancy; and the Language made use of by the Porter on this Occasion, was much admired, because he was a Man of no Education.

WHEN Madam *Tiquet* was come to the Place where she was to suffer, there fell so great a Rain, they were obliged to defer the Execution 'till it was over. She had, during this Space, all the Apparatus of her Punishment in View, and at the same Time a Mourning Coach with six Horses, covered with black Cloth, which was to carry away her Body. When she saw the Porter Executed, she lamented his Destiny inasmuch, that she seemed to forget her own.

WHEN she was directed to mount the Scaffold, she gave her Hand to the Hangman, that he might help her. But before she did this, she put it to her Mouth, and made such an Inclination with her Body,

Body, as shewed that she was not at all disgusted with the Sight of him. When she was on the Scaffold, she kissed all the Instruments of Death, and did every Thing with an Air, as if she had studied her Part ; she accommodated her Hair and her Head-dress in a Moment, and was instantly on her Knees, in a Posture ready to suffer.

THE Executioner on the other Hand was so disordered, that he could hardly perform his Office, he missed his Blow thrice, and when her Head fell from her Body all the Spectators set up a loud Cry. Her Head was suffered to lie a considerable Space of Time upon the Scaffold, that married Women might have Time to consider her Fate, and to resolve with themselves never to merit the like.

THOUGH Madam *Tiquet* was Forty-two Years old when she suffered, yet her Beauty was not in the least decay'd ; and as she died in full Health and Vigour, her Face retained an agreeable Air, even after her Head was struck off ; this all the Spectators owned, and many who saw it, after it was brought back to the *Hotel de Ville*, averred it had nothing in it shocking or horrible even then.

THE *Sieur de Mongeorge* was at this Time at *Versailles*, where he amused himself by taking long Walks in the Park. In the Evening of that Day when he appeared at Court, the King had the Goodness to tell him, that he was extremely pleased Madam *Tiquet* had, in her last Moments, justified him to the Publick ; as for himself, his Majesty said he had never entertained the least Suspicion

cion of him. The *Sieur de Mongeorge* bowed and thanked the King, laying hold of this Opportunity to intreat the Royal Permission to travel for eight Months out of the Kingdom, that he might be released from those disagreeable Objects which every Day struck his Sight, and renewed his Sorrows; the King yielded to his Intreaties, and now she was no more, all the World deplored the hapless Fate of so accomplished a Lady as *Madam Tiquet*. A fatal Example of Female Imprudence, and a Misapplication of the finest Parts.

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